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JPRS 81758

14 September 1982

# Vietnam Report

No. 2393

Tap Chi Cong San

No. 6, June 1982

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# VIETNAM REPORT

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Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

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EDITORIAL: 'DEFENDING PEACE AND OPPOSING WAR IS AN URGENT TASK FOR ALL NATIONS'

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 82 pp 1-7, 15

[Text] Because of the bellicose line of the Reagan administration in the United States and the NATO leaders and due to Beijing's hegemonist and expansionist policy, the danger of war, which was averted in the 1970's, is becoming imminent. The world situation is even more complex. The class struggle between socialism and capitalism on a worldwide scale and the struggle between the forces of peace and war are acute in all respects. The bellicose and aggressive policy of the U.S.-led imperialists is a great danger to world peace and security and a serious threat to the cause of national independence, democracy and social progress of all nations. Reagan's statement on the possibility of waging a "limited" nuclear war in Europe; the hostile U.S. acts against, and gross U.S. threats to Cuba and Nicaragua in Central America and the Caribbean; the agreement on "strategic cooperation" between the United States and Israel, under which Israel is used as an assault force to implement the U.S. "half war policy" in the Middle East; U.S. instigation of South Africa to wage aggression against Angola; the massing of major units of the Rapid Deployment Force in the Persian Gulf area; the use of Pakistan as a springboard for waging an undeclared war against the people of Afghanistan; the speculation by the United States and the NATO bloc on the crisis in Poland; and the collusion between Beijing and the United States in waging a multifaceted war of sabotage against the three Indochinese countries and creating confrontation between the ASEAN states and the Indochinese countries --all these facts harbor the danger of conflicts in the various regions and seriously threaten the independence and sovereignty of nations and peace and security in the world.

These acts and schemes of the imperialists and reactionaries do not prove that they are strong. Instead, they only reflect their frenzied counteroffensive in the face of the development of the three revolutionary currents in the world.

There are many causes of the present tension in the world. The various components of the Reagan administration play a definite role. Reactionary groups representing the interests of an industrial-military complex are in power in the United States. For the first time representatives of capitalist monopoly in the western United States, where there are many key industrial-military enterprises, account for a large percentage of the U.S. Government.

They are, among others, Secretary of Defense Weinberger and other assistants to the U.S. President, representatives of other capitalist monopoly circles related to the military industry also participate in the government. Haig himself, a career soldier, prior to his appointment as secretary of state, was chairman of United Technologies, a big military consortium in the north-eastern states. These officials have implemented their plan for accelerating the arms race and creating tension, a plan which the industrial-military complex has long cherished. This plan had been prepared prior to Reagan's presidential election campaign. What we have heard Reagan, Haig and Weinberger say these days was written beforehand in the documents of the "council for international relations," an organization similar to a main combat staff for the U.S. capitalist and financial ringleaders.

But the matter does not lie only in the personnel changes in the top ruling circles in Washington. The bellicose and aggressive line of U.S. imperialism has many far-reaching causes. The main point is that the ruling scope of imperialism in the world has been narrowed and that the U.S. schemes of taking advantages of detente--which it was forced to accept in the 1970's--to "erode" and weaken the socialist forces, as well as to maintain the political-social status quo in the world in its favor, have failed.

The imperialists have perceived that under the conditions of peace and detente, the socialist community has constantly been consolidated and has influenced the trends of world development, that its international position has been strengthened and that socialist thought is more and more attractive to the world's peoples. One country after another of the Third World has left the capitalist system, and many nations have chosen the socialist road. In the 1970's, the Vietnamese people won a historic victory over the U.S. imperialist aggressors, opening a "post-Vietnam" era, an era of profound change in the world situation. Laos and Kampuchea have won independence and freedom and are advancing to socialism. Together with Vietnam, they form an important part of the world socialist system. The peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Afghanistan and Ethiopia have won glorious victories; progressive regimes have been established in South Yemen, Nicaragua and Grenada; and a revolution against the rotten monarchist regime--a lackey of imperialism--broke out in Iran. Annoyed by the objective development of human society, leaders of the imperialist camp have made every effort to check that trend. The United States and the NATO bloc have relegated the hypocritical "human rights" strategy to the second rank and transformed their military potential into the principal tool of their foreign policy.

In the situation of world detente, the general crisis of capitalism is very acute because of its inherent contradictions. Crises have constantly increased and become even more serious because of such protracted structural crises as the energy crisis, the raw materials crisis and the monetary crisis. The relationship between the capitalist countries and the Third World countries has become strained. The imperialists have resorted to all possible means, including their military strength, to maintain their sources of raw materials and mineral oil reserves. The "North-South" meeting at Cancun laid bare the U.S. scheme to oppose the just struggle of nations for the establishment of a new economic order.

The situation in the capitalist countries has also not developed to the imperialists' satisfaction. The state of economic recession, inflation and unemployment, which has developed constantly, has led to violent class struggles, and the masses of people in some big capitalist countries are more obviously leaning toward the Left.

The U.S. imperialists also have not resigned themselves to accept a situation in which the "Pacific solidarity" within the NATO bloc is increasingly loose and the tendency of "independence" among the West European countries is rising. Therefore, even in West Europe the U.S. imperialists have decided to "reestablish order" and have plotted to use their military might to restore their leading role there.

As a matter of fact, the world's peoples are coping with the global counter-revolutionary strategy of the U.S. imperialists. This strategy violates the basic interests and historic results of the socialist countries and the vital national interests of other countries and peoples. It is extremely reactionary and is opposed to the process of the world's objective development. The U.S. imperialists are trying to gain military supremacy over the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in the hope of carrying out this strategy. In seeking ways to implement it, they have found a dangerous "companion"--the Chinese hegemonists and expansionists. Beijing supports the arms race and tension-creating policy of the United States, criticizes peace demonstrations in Europe, supports reactionary regimes everywhere in the world, sides with the Pol Pot genocidal clique in Kampuchea, exerts military pressure on the three Indochinese countries and provokes confrontation in Southeast Asia. The Chinese hegemonists and expansionists are a major international reactionary force, play a very dangerous counterrevolutionary assault role and directly oppose the three revolutionary currents in the world. Therefore, the collusion between the Chinese reactionaries and the U.S. imperialists is an outstanding characteristic of the present world situation. It has further increased the danger of war and is a serious threat to peace and security in the world, especially in Southeast Asia and Asia.

To cover and justify their bellicose and aggressive plans, the imperialists and reactionaries have intensively engaged in ideological work. By means of information, press, broadcasts and movies and with subtle, perfidious and wicked tricks, they have actually conducted ideological and psychological warfare to exert pressure on the masses and to disseminate fabricated stories about socialism and about the foreign policies of the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, Vietnam and Cuba. The myths about the "Soviet threat," "Moscow's hands" everywhere, "international terrorism," "big hegemonism" and "little hegemonism" have been exploited to an unprecedentedly high degree by the propaganda apparatuses of the imperialists and international reactionaries. Meanwhile, campaigns on "human rights" and "refugees" have been promoted, and economic difficulties in the socialist countries are played up.

The propaganda campaign of the imperialists and international reactionaries supports their plots to lower the prestige of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries; to slander the peace-loving policy of these countries; to lower the prestige of socialism; to keep truths about socialist realism

from influencing the social public of the capitalist countries; to weaken the socialist countries' ability to help nations in their struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress; and to slander the just struggle of these nations.

These activities of the imperialists and international reactionaries have produced some effect. They have caused misunderstandings among some democratic circles, those with tendencies toward advocating peace, and some people who are ignorant of the world situation. They are also reflected in erroneous and impractical views on the "equal responsibility" of the Soviet Union and the United States for the tension in the world. The truth is that each new phase of the arms race has been initiated by the West, while the Soviet Union has merely taken measures to cope with it, for the sake of its own security and that of its allies and the world's peoples. It is the United States which has advanced the "limited" nuclear war doctrine, believing that it could win victory through "warning blows." As for the Soviet Union, it has stated that initial use of nuclear weapons is a crime and that a "limited" nuclear war would be the fuse of a hot worldwide nuclear conflict in which there could be no victor. The fairly numerous cases of U.S. use of armed force against other countries are described as necessary acts to protect U.S. "vital interests;" whereas Soviet support to nations suffering from imperialist aggression and exploitation is considered as "causing instability" in the world! According to the ridiculous logic of those advocating the doctrine of "equal responsibility," the Soviet Union ought to yield to imperialist pressure, give up its support to friendly countries and allies and ignore or verbally protest schemes to suppress people's liberation movements, so as not to create complexities in the world arena! Obviously, the concept of "equal responsibility" is not only a distortion of and a slander against Soviet foreign policy, but also a propaganda move in favor of the bellicose imperialist line. Such a concept, which gives a helping hand to our ideological enemy, must be rejected.

As far as our country is concerned, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, in collusion with U.S. imperialism, is conducting very acute psychological warfare along with espionage, economic sabotage and blockade, and the exertion of military pressure characterized by armed provocations and acts of encroachment and occupation of territory. By resorting to such tricks as distorting the situation, slandering our party and state's policies, fabricating lies, spreading false rumors and making much of the temporary difficulties in our economy and our people's daily life, they hope to create suspicion and dissatisfaction among our people, to cause our organization to rot, to impair the prestige of our country's leading organs, to incite rebellion and to advance toward the overthrow of our leadership and the annexation of our country. They slander the just assistance of our people to the Kampuchean people and brand us as "little hegemonists," while they themselves are extremely reactionary expansionists and hegemonists who always clamor about "teaching Vietnam another lesson"! They falsely blame Vietnam for causing instability in Southeast Asia, while they themselves foment war and military confrontation in this region. Only by heightening vigilance and refuting the enemy's psychological warfare allegations will we be able to foil his bellicose and aggressive plan.



As mentioned earlier, the one and only basic cause of the present tense situation is the bellicose and aggressive policy of the imperialists and international reactionaries. Therefore, to defend peace it is necessary to struggle against their schemes and acts of aggression. Defending peace is a very urgent task of strategic importance. It must be a common cause of all nations because the present danger of war does not threaten any particular nation, but the whole of mankind.

Under the present conditions, a nuclear war, if ever it breaks out, will be a true catastrophe for all peoples. Engaging in an arms race is not for the good of nations. At present, in newly liberated countries about 400 million people suffer constantly from hunger; 300 million others are afflicted with anemia; some 100 million children are threatened with death because they do not have enough to eat or are undernourished; and 30 percent of the children are deprived of the chance to go to school. Yet, every year the imperialists and reactionaries spend hundreds of billions of dollars on the arms race!

Peace is the earnest aspiration of all nations on earth. Only the imperialists' industrial-military complex wants war to get rich. Only those pursuing expansionism and hegemonism want war in order to fish in troubled waters. In their own selfish interests they are ready to put hundreds of millions of people to death. The struggle to maintain peace is consistent with the basic interests of the socialist countries and the peoples of all countries. It is also consistent with the interests of the world revolutionary movement which in many countries can be accelerated and win victories. In the present epoch when the strength of the three revolutionary currents in the world are increasing tremendously, the victory of a revolution is not necessarily linked to a world war, nor is it associated with a nuclear war.

It is the nature of the imperialists and reactionaries to wage aggression and provoke war. Only through the combined strength of a united front of all peace-loving and war-opposing forces--the core of which are the socialist countries and the communists--can their criminal hands be stayed. Only by coordinating the struggle for peace with the anti-imperialist struggle--which is designed partially to defeat and advance toward completely eliminating imperialism--can the danger of war be completely banished from social life.

At present, the antiwar peace forces in the world have grown stronger than ever before. The capabilities of maintaining peace are real capabilities. They are the powerful might of the Soviet Union--the pillar of peace and world revolution--and the combined strength of the socialist community. They are the revolutionary storm of the national independence movement and the Nonaligned Movement, which is disintegrating the rear base of imperialism. They are the vigorous development of the workers' movement and the democratic and peace forces in the capitalist countries, which are shaking the hideout of imperialism. They are the desire of nations for independence and freedom and the awakening of hundreds of millions of people in the world to the threat of death posed by nuclear weapons.

An unprecedentedly strong antiwar movement has stirred the West European countries. It can be said that Europe has awakened upon knowing that Reagan's

nuclear war plan "is just for Europe." Participating in this movement are very different political and social forces and even persons who have anti-communist prejudices. The motives of the participants are different. So are the slogans they have adopted. Some have perceived the relationship between the defense of peace and detente and social progress; others are promoted by their religious ethics. Some adopt a traditional pacifist stand; others are concerned over the danger of destruction of the natural environment or are primarily inspired by their patriotism and their desire not to see "Europe again transformed into satellites." Among the antiwar forces are religious, social and progressive sociodemocratic forces.

The most outstanding characteristic of the present peace movement is its broad political and social basis. Even a number of generals and other high-ranking officers who hold high positions in the armies of the Western countries and in the NATO bloc are also in the ranks of war protesters. Scientists who, more than anyone else, are aware of the consequences of a nuclear war have participated more and more actively in the struggle for peace. The antiwar movement is developing not only in Europe, but also in Japan where it has been launched with a "three don'ts" slogan--do not produce nuclear weapons; do not import nuclear weapons; and do not deploy nuclear weapons on Japanese territory. The antiwar movement in the United States and Canada is also seething, showing a combination of its traditional slogans with those opposing the reduction of expenditures for economic and social demands.

Taking the lead in the struggle against war and for peace are the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and communists the world over. The Soviet diplomatic initiatives are aimed at one objective: maintain peace and prevent war. The Soviet Union does not seek military supremacy over the Western countries. It has made every effort to end the arms race among countries and to establish friendly, neighborly relations and cooperation with all countries, irrespective of political and social systems. At the 26th CPSU Congress, it outlined a peace program for the 1980's and advanced many initiatives on key problems related to the maintenance and development of the process of easing the international situation and limiting the arms race. These initiatives involve expanding measures of creating mutual trust; solving by political means a number of critical situations, including the Middle East crisis; resuming the Soviet-U.S. dialogue on the control of strategic weapons; and so forth. The meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet in June of 1981 approved an appeal "To National Assemblies and Peoples in the World." This appeal has been widely answered by the world public. Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's visit to the FRG in late 1981 is of special importance, going beyond the framework of the relationship between the Soviet Union and the FRG and even beyond the European scope. In Bonn, the comrade displayed the Soviet desire for peace, contrary to the other side's policy of confrontation "by force." He warned that in the present situation a wrong step would probably invite disaster. He said that the Soviet Union will not only strive to avoid such a step, but will also concentrate all efforts on preventing the other side from making a wrong move, thereby formulating a constructive solution to the replacement of the arms race line. To create conditions for a dialogue of peace, he made the following proposal: Both sides, while engaging in talks, will not develop new, middle-range nuclear weapons nor modernize the existing ones in Europe.

And if the other side agrees to the postponement, the Soviet Union will be ready not only to stop further development of its SS-20 missiles, but also, as an exhibition of its good will, to reduce unilaterally part of its middle-range nuclear weapons in the European part of Soviet territory. Such reductions are viewed as an initial step toward a higher degree of reduction to which the Soviet Union and the United States might agree in future talks. Moreover, Comrade Brezhnev stressed that in future talks the Soviet Union will resolutely demand that each side reduce nuclear weapons substantially in Europe and that it will be ready to reduce, not by tens, but by hundreds, weapon units of this kind. And if the other side agrees to renounce the use of all kinds of middle-range nuclear weapons leveled at the targets in Europe, the Soviet Union will be ready to do the same thing.

Following his proposals made at the Soviet trade unions congress on 16 March 1981, on 18 May 1982 at the 19th Soviet Lenin Communist Youth Congress, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev announced that the Soviet Union had unilaterally stopped the deployment of middle-range missiles in the European part of Soviet territory. He proposed that the Soviet Union and the United States be ready for an agreement so that as of now, when the talks begin, their strategic weapons must be kept intact in terms of quantity and limited to the maximum in terms of modernization.

These new initiatives are clear proof of the Soviet's realistic attitude and actions of good will with regard to the settlement of the problem of nuclear weapons in Europe. As Comrade L.I. Brezhnev has stressed many times, the Soviet Union advocates that eventually, there will be no more nuclear weapons--including middle-range nuclear weapons and strategic nuclear arms--in Europe. This will be a "solution of naught" that is truly fair to all sides.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have also advanced many more peace initiatives aimed at easing the tension in the Persian Gulf area, the Middle East, the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and the Far East. The Soviet Union has proposed the setting up of a nuclear free zone in northern Europe. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has proposed the setting up of a nuclear free zone in the Balkan Peninsula. The Mongolian People's Republic has proposed the signing of a nonaggression convention between the Asian and Pacific countries. The three Indochinese countries have advanced initiatives on seven principles of peaceful coexistence and on conducting a dialogue between the ASEAN states and the Indochinese countries in order to make Southeast Asia a zone of peace, stability, friendship and cooperation.

However, the struggle against war, for an end to the arms race and for nuclear disarmament still has a long and complex way to go. It is being obstructed by forces which have interests in and are attached to the production of nuclear weapons and neutron bombs with the turning of the European Continent into a "limited nuclear battlefield" and with the creation of hotbeds of tension and regional conflict in many areas of the world.

Pressured by public opinion to accept talks with the Soviet Union, the U.S. imperialists from the outset showed their lack of good will. The stand on negotiations which Reagan has just announced, bares the U.S. refusal to seek a true agreement. It is only designed to ensure that Washington will win military supremacy, because the United States does not want to discuss the

kinds of strategic weapons which it is now strongly developing, it wants to deal only with the Soviet missiles already installed and the new missiles which the United States intends to deploy, while leaving all other nuclear arms in U.S. vanguard positions where they are. Thus, the United States regards negotiations just as a screen to cover its bellicose designs and its desire to achieve military supremacy. This is contrary to the principles of equality and mutual security in East-West relations. In Southeast Asia in particular, and in Asia in general, the Maoist clique still maintains its expansionist and hegemonist thought and is implementing an extremely reactionary foreign policy.

In view of this, all nations must raise high their vigilance and struggle resolutely to preserve peace and frustrate all acts of war by the U.S.-led imperialists and other reactionaries. Our people are conscious of their historic mission of defending national independence firmly, building socialism successfully in their country and contributing to the maintenance of lasting peace and stability in the region. Only in this way will they contribute actively to the cause of easing the international situation and defending peace in Asia and the rest of the world.

CSO: 4209/421

PHAM VAN DONG: BRING THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT TO THE SAME LEVEL AS OUR PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 82 pp 8-15

[Address by SRV Council of Ministers Chairman Pham Van Dong at the opening session of the Fifth Vietnam Women's Union Congress held in Hanoi on 19 May 1982]

[Text] Dear presidium members:

Dear comrade delegates to the congress:

Dear sisters: The Fifth National Congress of the Vietnam Women's Union [VWU] represents a beautiful and vivid image of the women's movement and typifies the Vietnamese women's contributions, progress, abundant capabilities and vigorous strength of advance. On behalf of the VCP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers, I convey to the congress and through the congress to our sisters throughout the country my affectionate salutations, warm sentiments and best greetings. I hope our sisters throughout the country will struggle together to resolutely advance our women's force, organization and movement up to the level of our people's great socialist revolutionary undertaking. I wish the congress brilliant success and hope it will mark a new step of development in the Vietnamese women's movement.

Vietnam's history is a long process of nation building and national defense dating from the period of the Hung kings and is marked by centuries of struggle to achieve national independence, freedom and unification in the advance to socialism during the Ho Chi Minh era.

For thousands of years our Vietnamese women have properly fulfilled their responsibilities to the country's destiny as valiant combatants in the struggle against the enemy; as diligent laborers in national development and construction; as wives who love and make sacrifices for their families; and as good mothers in giving birth to, rearing and educating Vietnam's young generations.

Since the opening day of the congress coincides with the birthday of the great President Ho Chi Minh, we are thinking of our beloved and esteemed Uncle Ho, the leader of the Vietnamese people and women. Let us recall together his high appreciation of our Vietnamese women and his warm sentiments toward them:

Thanks to the efforts of our Vietnamese women, old or young, our beautiful country has become even more beautiful and radiant. Our people are very grateful to their mothers in both the North and South for giving birth to and rearing generations of heroes and heroines of Vietnam.

To date, innumerable people, one after another, have made sacrifices to build the Vietnamese fatherland. Developing the traditions of our sisters Trung and Trieu, our women have made admirable, proud and great contributions to national construction, especially since our party's assumption of leadership over our people's revolutionary undertaking.

After the August revolution, during the struggle against aggression and for independence and freedom, there appeared many female combatants who fought valiantly against the enemy to save the country, many female liaison agents who operated along the roads of our resistance, many female vanguard youths who built and protected the famous Ho Chi Minh trail and many mothers who loved and took care of our troops as they did their own children.

In our national construction, there appeared numerous labor heroines and female emulation combatants in the economic and cultural spheres. All these people represent the very beautiful images of our Vietnamese women. There are numerous examples of valiant fighting and selfless labor. Most typical of them are sisters Nguyen Thi Chuyen, Nguyen Thi Ranh, Ta Thi Kieu, Nguyen Thi Ut, Nguyen Thi Sot, La Thi Tam, Vu Thi Nham, Nguyen Thi Hang, Cu Thi Hau, Nguyen Thi Sang, Ha Thi San, Hoang Thi Hong Chiem and Nguyen Thi Hai. Numerous mothers, including Pham Thi Nghiem, Nguyen Thi Sang, Tran Thi Mit, Nong Thi Luoc, Truong Thi Sanh, Nguyen Thi Voi, Tran Thi Mui, Nguyen Thi Binh, Van Thi Thua and Pham Thi Nuoi have sacrificed their own children for the fatherland.

Our country ranks among those countries in the world where women play a great role in the nation's history. The process of the struggle for nation building and national defense has prepared our people to advantageously accept Marxism-Leninism, the genuine light and ideal in the present era.

Over the past century and more, since our party's founding, our country's revolution, holding high the two banners of national independence and socialism, has achieved glorious successes. Today our entire people are advancing to socialism. The socialist revolution has completely liberated our nation, our society, our men and our women. It is the most profound, thorough and overall revolution in Vietnam's history as well as in world history.

The Fourth VCP Congress traced a general line for the socialist revolution and the line for building socialist economy in our country. The Fifth VCP Congress developed and materialized these lines and set forth two strategic tasks of the Vietnamese revolution: The successful building of socialism and the struggle to firmly protect the Socialist Vietnamese fatherland. The Fifth VCP Congress also set forth great strategic policies regarding various spheres of activity and the objectives, guidelines and economic and social tasks for the initial leg of the process of the entire country's advance to socialism during the 1981-1985 period and through the 1980's.

Our people are now facing many great and complicated problems. We must defeat the war of comprehensive sabotage being carried out by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collusion with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary forces. Meanwhile, we must ensure that our country always stands ready and strong enough to vanquish the enemy under any circumstances. We must stabilize and gradually improve our people's material and cultural lives. We must continue to build material and technical bases of socialism. We must complete socialist transformation and perfect the new production relations throughout the country. We must step up the building of a new culture and a new type of Vietnamese man.

In light of the resolutions of the Fifth VCP Congress, our socialist revolution is developing widely, profoundly and intensely throughout the country. It has permeated our people's thoughts and sentiments that each of us adopt a revolutionary attitude and perform revolutionary acts.

The advance to socialism from small-scale production is a process of revolutionary struggle replete with hardships and difficulties. It is a process aimed at moving toward large-scale production and at shifting from nonsocialism to socialism through socialist transformation and socialist construction in all our activities and social life.

In the current tough struggle between the two roads, especially in a number of localities and spheres, we must resolutely win a complete victory for socialism. We are determined to establish a socialist political, economic, cultural and social order in accordance with our party's line and our country's Constitution.

The present economic situation requires that we reduce difficulties in the lives of the workers, cadres, civil servants and peasants in areas where there is a shortage of food. We must also reduce the difficulties of the poor laborers in the cities.

To meet this requirement, we must carry out effective and urgent measures regarding the purchase and distribution of goods, receipts and expenditures, financial and monetary matters, price and market control, labor and wages in order to stabilize the people's livelihood, boost production and improve the situation on the distribution and circulation front. We must concentrate our forces on increasing production, especially the production of grain, foodstuffs and staple goods, and export products in order to import raw materials and technical supplies necessary for production. We must strive to better a number of important heavy industries, including the electricity, coal, machinery and chemical industries. We must strive to overcome weaknesses in the communications and transportation sector and reorganize capital construction.

Along with boosting production, we must practice strict economy in the field of social and state expenditures as well as in the field of individual and public expenditures. We must struggle to check, repel and eliminate all negative phenomena in production and trade operations, in cultural activities and in the maintenance of social order and safety. We must eliminate superstitious practices and outmoded traditions and customs.

More than ever before, we must uphold revolutionary discipline, party discipline and state rules and regulations. Every state organ and cadre must seriously implement all systems governing responsibility, labor discipline, public service and protection of public property.

Since they belong to the powerful revolutionary masses and the great social labor force, our women should have a full sense of responsibility and concern. They should establish a program of action from the central to the grassroots level and cooperate with the people throughout the country in stepping up the socialist revolution and making great contributions on all fronts.

Our women now account for more than 60 percent of the labor force in agriculture and the foodstuffs industry, light industry, small industries, handicraft industry, trade sector, public health service and cultural and educational sectors. Fifty percent of middle-level technical cadres; 31 percent of cadres at the collegial or higher levels; and 30 percent of representatives in stage organs of power at the central, local and grassroots levels are women. Since our women are present everywhere, they should struggle to become stalwart combatants of the socialist revolution. This must be reflected more clearly on the fronts and in the activities where women are the majority. Our women play an important role in all activities and in the successes of the agricultural sector, trades and occupations, stores, markets, schools and hospitals in our country.

In the struggle against negative phenomena, in the establishment of a socialist order regarding distribution and circulation and in the application of economic and social management measures in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism, our women should be active and effective and set a good example. These are the fields where they can develop the qualities of the majority of Vietnamese woman laborers: cleanliness, honesty, disciplinary spirit and diligence.

Our women occupy the key position in building socialist families. It is a positive policy to develop family-size economy within the orbit of socialist economy. Together with their husbands and children, our rural women should take care of their orchards, fish ponds and stables and undertake additional occupations. Our urban women should strive to develop small and handicraft industries or do other suitable jobs to increase the amount of products for society and their own family income. Our women should strive to improve their families' still frugal meals by processing some valuable food from grain and cereals. The improvement of meals should depend on the conditions of each family and locality. We must strive to add a banana, an egg and a glass of soya milk to the ordinary daily ration of our children in the kindergartens. This has been done with encouraging results by the provinces of Hai Hung, Nghia Binh, Phu Khanh, Dong Nai, Cuu Long, Tien Giang, Song Be and Binh Tri Thien as well as Ho Chi Minh City.

The movement to build families with a new culture must be expanded. Let our sisters strive to develop relations of mutual love, respect and assistance between husbands and wives, apply the birth control plan and rear and educate healthy and good children from birth to adulthood. Those women capable of assuming the task of building harmonious, civilized and happy families will be a source of encouragement for the combatants fighting on the battle-front to defend the country and for those engaged in productive labor. If a family is built in a good environment, it can produce a good educational effect and prepare the young generation to be ready for the start of life.

The process of struggle to contribute in all spheres of the economic and social life should be our women's process of continuous growth into maturity. Let every woman advance. Let all women advance in production, work, study and in the revolutionary struggle and increase their capabilities. Therefore, it is necessary to concentrate on training many more woman cadres, including economic management cadres, scientific and technical cadres, and educational, health and cultural cadres. Every cadre of the VWU must be a specialized and well-trianed one. With their contributions and maturity, our country's women will be able to satisfactorily assume and discharge heavier responsibilities in the organs in charge of leading and managing various establishments at various levels and in various sectors. This is the process of achieving equality between men and women in reality and in life.

The VWU has the responsibility to educate, motivate and guide women in developing their rights to collective mastery, in making more contributions to the fatherland and socialism and incontinuing their struggle for the liberation of women and for shaping a new-type socialist woman.

Within the scope of their responsibilities, VWU echelons should motivate women's forces to successfully implement the party's line, state laws, positions and policies of the Council of Ministers; strive to fulfill their tasks in the 1981-1985 5-Year Plan, and, for the immediate future, the 1982 state plan. The VWU must renovate its operating procedures in order to successfully rally all strata of women. It must get rid of all types of monotonous and dreary work, work that is not appropriate and work that does not really concern the masses. It must always firmly grasp the party's line and policies, understand state policies concerning economic, cultural and social management for each given period, and cleverly coordinate its activities with government agencies and friendly associations. Most importantly, the VWU must remain close to the grassroots level, do deep into the masses, truly understand the feelings, aspirations and capabilities of the sister women and, thereby, devise lively policies, tasks, and motivational methods suited to women of each profession, locality and age group.

The VWU Central Committee should, based on the line of the fifth party congress and state plans, work out practical programs of action for the whole term and for each year. All VWU organizations should, based on the overall program of action, formulate their own concrete programs of action and resolutely carry them out in order to gradually make contributions and mark the development and maturity of the movement of new women building and defending the fatherland.



The VWU, along with the responsible state organs, must effectively care for women's welfare and livelihood in line with our country's existing capabilities by doing such things as building and managing creches and kindergartens and organizing services in order to lessen housewives' burdens, guiding women in getting married and in organizing their family life. It must pay special attention to motivating women to practice family planning and to creating conditions to help women satisfactorily carry out their production tasks, social activities and the rearing and education of their children. It must particularly concern itself with caring for and assisting the families of war dead, war invalids and troops. It must coordinate with state organs, trade unions and the youth union in making surveys on the lives and working conditions of women as well as their positions in their joint participation in state and social management. Based on the surveys, it will propose to the party and state the promulgation of policies and laws to ensure women's rights. It should contribute its share in controlling and supervising the implementation of those policies and laws. It should intensively participate in formulating a new marriage and family law, labor code and appropriate policies in order to satisfactorily carry out the family planning motivation campaign.

As presented above, our country's present situation requires an extensive, dramatic, revolutionary change in all fields of activity and in our people's lives: a change in thoughts, feelings and revolutionary action; change within the party, the state apparatus and mass organizations; a change among socialist intellectuals, workers, peasants, laborers, and the armed forces. The pressing need to effect a revolutionary change and arouse revolutionary action must pervade all VWU organizations from the central to the grassroots level and must permeate among the sister women so it is blended into their will and feelings. All VWU activities must be aimed at whipping up a seething revolutionary movement involving large numbers of women and making them clearly conscious that they are members of a huge collective of tens of millions of women who are jointly struggling for common objectives. This sense of collectivity is the precursor of a revolutionary movement which arouses enthusiasm and encouragement and gives rise to unpredictable strengths, initiatives, and talents.

Within the movement of new women building and defending the fatherland, a comprehensive and long-term movement involving all of our country's women, there must be many women's movements for each profession, locality and primary organization; each movement with a very realistic theme and aimed at satisfactorily fulfilling a specific task at a given time and in a given locality.

The VWU should follow up and strictly control the movement in order to promptly detect model units and individuals, timely review experiences, and multiply the models to help the movement develop continuously.

Women are an important factor in the task of building socialism. Our party, our state and our people must insure that our women properly fulfill their obligations as workers, citizens, wives and mothers and must pay more attention to the task of liberating women. In this connection, all party committee echelons must intensify their leadership over the task of motivating women and make all party, state and mass organizations thoroughly understand and scrupulously implement the viewpoint and policy regarding this task. They must give close guidance in developing the VWU's functions, strive to eliminate erroneous thoughts regarding the evaluation of our women and their capabilities and the training, improvement and employment of women workers and cadres, and resolutely solve specific problems concerning our women's and children's lives. At each stage every party committee, within the limits of its responsibility, should discuss and decide on the tasks regarding the motivation of women. At each stage every party standing committee should listen to reports on the situation in motivating women, assess the women's movement and set forth guidelines for our women's activities. All party committee echelons should hold special meetings to closely and correctly resolve all problems regarding our women's lives in the course of motivating women. All administrative echelons and state organs should promulgate and implement laws and regulations to develop our women's role and create favorable conditions for liberating our women. VWU chapters must fully participate in drafting all rules and regulations related to women and children. It is necessary to promptly and properly meet our women's legitimate requirements, support the VWU's activities and resolutely oppose authoritarian airs and irresponsible attitudes.

Each sector or organization must take proper care of the interests and lives of women and children according to its functions. We must make full use of all available resources to help our women work with high productivity and reduce difficulties in their family life. Children in nurseries, kindergartens, schools, wards and hamlets must be properly fed and educated. Cadres in charge of managing sectors that contain many women cadres and workers must constantly take good care of our sisters. Other mass organizations must maintain contact with the VWU and coordinate with and assist it. Particularly trade unions must pay attention to this in motivating women workers and civil servants and the Ho Chi Minh Communist Party Union must do this in motivating young women. The Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union should coordinate with the VWU in preventing the corruption of teenagers and youth and educating them to properly fulfill their obligation of defending the fatherland and perform their labor duty in order to become worthy successors of their fathers and brothers in the revolutionary undertaking and collective masters in the socialist undertaking. This is an important current matter. Our party, our people and our society, and each party and state cadre and each individual, must positively contribute to the task of liberating women, with sincere respect and affection for our Vietnamese women.

Seen in the light of the resolutions of the Fifth VCP Congress, this VWU congress marks a new step of development of the women's movement and the VWU and reflects our sisters' achievements and contributions to the common revolutionary undertaking and to the liberation of women. The VWU congress is being held at a time when our entire people are actively implementing the resolutions of the Fifth VCP Congress in accordance with the slogan "All for the socialist fatherland, all for the people's happiness." It is being held at a time when the international situation is developing in the direction of the continuous victorious offensive of the three epochal revolutionary currents launched since the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Our enemies are seeking every opportunity to smear Vietnam's image in the international arena. They have failed and will fail completely. Vietnam has constantly enjoyed the confidence, love and wide support of its friends on all five continents and of the world's people because our people's struggle for independence, freedom and socialism, with its particular significance and historic victory, has been regarded as a struggle of revolutionary and progressive forces. Our people's struggle has become part of the world's struggle and has mankind's support. At present, it has become more vital and significant because the struggle for independence, freedom and socialism has become a strong and basic trend of the people all over the world.

In fulfilling their role in the national revolutionary undertaking while constantly intensifying their solidarity with the women of the Soviet Union, Laos and Kampuchea and with the women of other socialist and nonaligned countries and all other countries, our women will surely be able to develop their positive international role and worthily contribute to the world women's struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

I would like to express my belief that in the face of the new situation and new tasks of our country, our women's force, organization and movement will advance to the level of our people's great socialist revolutionary undertaking in the present stage in order to be worthy of our beloved and esteemed Uncle Ho's sacred praise that our Vietnamese women are "heroic, indomitable, loyal and resourceful."

CSO: 4209/421

## BRINGING ABOUT A NEW STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT OF OUR COUNTRY'S WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 82 pp 16-22

[Article by Nguyen Thi Nhu]

[Text] Part I

The 5th National Congress of Delegates of the Party confirmed: "The past 5 years have been recorded in the nation's history as a stage of very glorious victories of the Vietnamese revolution." (1) The women of Vietnam have proudly contributed to these victories. The party congress also confirmed that "the women of our country are very worthy of being a powerful contingent of the revolutionary masses, a large social labor force and the persons who assume the heavy responsibility of bearing and raising the future generations. The 'new woman building and defending the fatherland' movement has taught and mobilized the women of the entire country to fulfill their obligations as citizens and their responsibilities as mothers while developing within them the consciousness of struggling for equality between men and women and advancing the cause of women's liberation an important step forward." (2)

In the new situation, in order to contribute along with the people of the entire country toward successfully carrying out the two strategic tasks set forth by the 5th Congress, namely, successfully building socialism and maintaining combat readiness and firmly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland, "the Vietnam Women's Union must make every effort to teach and mobilize women to uphold their right of collective ownership, contribute much more to the fatherland, to socialism and continue the struggle for women's liberation while molding the new socialist woman. The union must concern itself with the welfare and living conditions of women and create the conditions for them to perform their production tasks well, engage in social activities and raise their children well. The union must coordinate with the agencies of the state, with the Trade Union and the Youth Union in order to investigate and research the living conditions, working conditions, requirements and aspirations of women and the position of women in the management of the state and the management of society; propose to the party and state that they promulgate policies and laws that guarantee the

rights of women; and help to inspect and supervise the implementation of these policies and laws."(3)

How, specifically, must the mobilization of women be carried out in order to carry out the guidelines and tasks mentioned above? We must conduct research, think and experiment in order to bring about a new stage of development for the women's movement.

Mobilizing women to participate in building socialism and defending the fatherland is the foremost guideline and task in the mobilization of women. The Vietnam Women's Union has mobilized women to actively participate in the following jobs: accelerating production and the practice of economy, improving economic management, developing and strengthening agricultural cooperatives, combating negative phenomena in society, encouraging husbands and sons to fulfill their military obligation, caring for troops, wounded veterans, the families of war dead, etc. At many places, the various levels of the party and government have highly evaluated the results of the work performed by the union.

However, the work of the party and the work of the various sectors of the government is developing more with each passing day and becoming increasingly involved in economics and technology; therefore, how and to what extent should the Women's Union participate in this work?

These questions must be raised and examined. The various levels of the party and government should not require that the Women's Union participate in a sweeping manner in too many jobs. The Women's Union itself must assess its own strengths and weigh the pros and cons in order to participate in a specific number of jobs and not spread itself thinly. As a general rule, the union can and must participate much more in those jobs that are related to the responsibilities of the union and the rights of women. When participating in these jobs, the union must fulfill its function of propagandizing, mobilizing and educating women so that they clearly understand the purpose and significance of the job, their responsibility toward it and the interest they derive from it so that they make every effort to perform the job well. In order to effectively propagandize and educate women, it is necessary to understand and survey the opinions and aspirations of women and suggest that the various party committee echelons and concerned sectors examine and act upon them. Recently, the various levels of the union at many places have guided and correctly encouraged women to practice sericulture, raise cotton and weave cloth in order to partially resolve the clothing problem.

In the face of the very urgent tasks of the country regarding the economy, production and living conditions, the various levels of the Women's Union, in the spirit of the "three responsibilities," must competently contribute to the effort to overcome these difficulties and to advancing the people's cause of socialist construction. Because, only by actively participating in the jobs that are designed to bring about a change in the economy and living conditions

and make the country prosperous and strong is it possible to guarantee the living conditions of women and their families. At the same time, in the process of participating in these jobs and doing so effectively, women will grow and gain greater confidence in their capabilities, society will recognize these capabilities and the equality of men and women will be even easier to achieve.

Resolving the problems regarding the rights and living conditions of women, achieving equality between men and women and forging the ethics of the new woman are the second main task in the mobilization of women. This task encompasses many specific jobs, such as achieving equality between men and women in all areas (wages, education, vacations and so forth), implementing the marriage and the family law, implementing planned parenthood, protecting mothers and children, caring for the education of teenagers and children and so forth.

Why is this task considered to be the second main task in the mobilization of women? This question leads to another question: why is the mobilization of women necessary?

From the point of view of society, each woman is also a citizen and a worker just as each man is. However, women possess special physiological and psychological characteristics and different natural functions than men, such as bearing and raising children. On the other hand, and this is the crux of the issue, the mobilization of women is necessary because equality has not been achieved between men and women.

Our country's revolution toppled the colonialist and feudal systems and the equality of men and women is recorded in the Constitution. In everyday life, in the family as well as in society, women have achieved equality with men in many areas. However, remnants of feudalism still remain, especially in a number of rural and mountainous areas, and these remnants are deeply ingrained in the consciousness of many persons, including many women and a number of party members (they respect men but not women, do not have confidence in the capabilities of women and so forth).

Some comrades maintain that the socialist system has guaranteed equality between men and women; in our country, there are no major questions regarding this issue that must be raised and resolved. In practice, however, the report of the Women's Union in many localities has shown that the phenomena of taking a second and third wife, forced marriages, arranged marriages and the maltreatment and beating of women within the family are still rather widespread. Some cases are very barbarous, very distressing and very deserving of indignation. In some cases, the Women's Union has had to intervene five to seven times and worked for 2 to 3 years without resolving the situation, thereby causing these women to live in very much fear and shame.

Women must work in society and perform the very strenuous chores of their households. To liberate women from the heavy burden of household chores, we

must have good public projects and services, such as child care centers, kindergartens, public dining facilities and public laundries. Our country is still poor, consequently, the development of these services has been limited. However, the experience of many enterprises and cooperatives shows that it is only necessary for the leaders and organizers of women within units and localities to concern themselves with this matter, rely upon the strength of the people and join forces with the collective and state in order to help women resolve the many difficulties faced in their work and daily lives.

Only by being concerned with resolving the vital problems regarding the rights and living conditions of women, equality between men and women and the liberation of women is it possible to mobilize the tremendous forces of women to participate in building socialism and defending the fatherland. The fact that many difficulties exist concerning the economic situation and living conditions cannot be used as an excuse to not resolve the problems regarding the rights and the private lives of women. It must be realized that it is even more necessary in times of difficulty for the party and state to concern itself with the living conditions of the masses, especially the mass of women, because women generally must bear the heavier burden in the face of the common difficulties of society.

In the process of carrying out the two main tasks mentioned above, we must intensify the campaign to mold the new woman. Only through the living realities of building and defending the country can we acquire the conditions for molding a stratum of new women who are able to be the masters of society, the masters of nature, the masters of themselves.

## Part II

The Vietnam Women's Union is a mass organization that has the responsibility of mobilizing women to carry out the tasks set forth by the party and state. The union cannot use orders to compel compliance by the masses nor does it have any materials or finances with which to use "material interests" to encourage the performance of each job undertaken by the union. The union has but one method at its disposal, to propagandize and mobilize the masses very well so that they voluntarily and eagerly carry out tasks.

The 5th Congress of the Party pointed out: "The role and strength of the mass organizations lie in their ability to rally the masses, in clearly understanding the private thoughts and aspirations of the masses, in raising the socialist awareness of the masses, in awakening the voluntary spirit, the activism, the initiative and creativity of the masses. To accomplish this, the mass organizations must improve their forms of organization and modes of activity to be suited to the new conditions."(4)

Recently, at many installations, the activities of the union's organization have been uninteresting and it has been difficult to gain the participation in these activities of large numbers of the masses; some meetings have only been attended by 5 or 10 percent of union members. As a result, it has been impossible to carry out the work of the union. Why is this?

We must sympathize with the fact that many difficulties are encountered in production and work and women must work very hard. Due to difficult living conditions, women must try to perform even more work, sometimes in primary production, sometimes in subsidiary production, to increase their income and maintain the living conditions of their family, and household chores also take up more than a small amount of time. The Women's Union is also a member of a number of other organizations and must participate in the activities of these organizations. If, at a time when we are so busy, the activities of the union are neither practical nor beneficial and the forms of activities are uninteresting, members will not want to participate in them.

To mobilize the masses to respond to the jobs of the union, the various levels of the union, especially the basic level, must maintain closer contact with the masses. It is necessary to routinely meet with the masses, to investigate, research and gain an understanding of the private thoughts and aspirations of women. We must concern ourselves with resolving the practical problems in the lives of women. Union activities must not be restricted to conferences, but must be conducted outside conferences as well. In the face of a family that has lost its unity, a woman who is being maltreated within the family, a case of an unjust divorce and so forth, union cadres, especially those on the basic level, absolutely must show concern and help to resolve these problems. The basic level of the Women's Union must be the organization that mobilizes women to participate in public work within the locality, must be the firm base of support for women, must be the defender of the legitimate rights of women. In this way, the various levels of the union will have the trust of union members, who will be ready to respond to the work proposed by the union.

At present, there are many difficulties in production and everyday life that must be overcome; in society, even at state agencies, there are numerous negative phenomena that we must struggle to overcome. Only by launching a revolutionary movement of the masses to stand up and exercise collective ownership and take strong action is it possible to advance the cause of socialist construction and socialist transformation. The Vietnam Women's Union, which is a large revolutionary mass organization led by the party, must play an active role in this mass movement, especially on the basic level, which is the frontline of every mass activity.

The mobilization of women is not only the work of the Women's Union but is work that is also carried out by many sectors depending upon their function, such as the women's worker component of the Trade Union and the young women's component of the Youth Union. Therefore, in the work of the union, we must firmly employ a new mode of work, namely, coordinating and cooperating well with the various sector.

On the other hand, as socialism develops in breadth and depth, activities will increasingly take two distinct directions: a deep and detailed division of labor and division of specialized sectors along with a widespread and close federation of sectors. To perform any job successfully, the Women's Union as

well as the other sectors must be conscious of and adopt plans for establishing close coordination and cooperation among organizations. For example, in the mobilization of women to engage in sericulture, raise cotton and weave cloth, the union must coordinate and cooperate with the agricultural, cooperative management, industrial and artisan sectors, even possible with the foreign trade and home trade sectors.

As regards work concerning the living conditions of women and the achievement of equality between men and women, it is even more necessary for the union to coordinate and cooperate well with the various sectors. For example, in the campaign to implement the marriage and the family law, protect mothers and children, practice planned parenthood and so forth, the union must coordinate and cooperate with the public health sector, the education sector, the legal sector, the internal affairs sector, the information-cultural sector, the cooperative management sector and so forth. To successfully carry out the program to build many child care centers in the countryside, the union must mobilize cooperatives to set aside funds to build child care centers and pay reasonable wages in the form of workpoints to child care governesses. The public health sector must care for the health of children. The commerce sector must supply food products and so forth. To successfully resolve a case involving a forced marriage, a divorce or a dispute within the family, the union must coordinate with the other mass organizations, such as the Youth Union and Trade Union, and the various sectors, such as the courts and the internal affairs sector, under the leadership of the party organization.

In the work of coordinating and cooperating in order to implement those policies and systems that are related to the rights of women and children there frequently are "conflicts," such as in the utilization and training of female labor and the implementation of those policies and systems designed to uphold the rights of women within enterprises, such as the strengthening of child care centers, maternity subsidies and so forth, and there are cases of disagreements with enterprise directors. As the representatives of the masses, the cadres of the union must take a firm stand and employ suitable work methods that gain for them the support of related sectors in order to complete their task.

Of course, the Women's Union still has "its own vertical sector" but the union cannot perform its work well in "isolation" within its own sector, rather, it must know how to coordinate and cooperate with the other sectors, considering this to be a principle in the union's mode of operation.

In order to perform the tasks of the union in the new situation well, improve work methods and coordinate and cooperate well with the various sectors, the levels of the union, especially the central and provincial levels, must intensify their research and investigative efforts in order to firmly grasp the special problems that the union is responsible for helping to resolve. It is necessary to strengthen the training of cadres for the women's movement in order to raise the mobilization of women to a higher level of development and insure that it is well based in theory and science, of a mass nature and more practical in nature.



For example, to mobilize women to practice sericulture, raise cotton and weave cloth, union cadres must conduct investigations and research to determine why this production developed in the past but has recently declined and to determine which conditions are needed now to restore and develop sericulture. Union cadres must also have basic, general knowledge of the physiology of mulberry trees and silkworms, the special characteristics of the various breeds of silkworms and varieties of mulberries, the techniques involved in cultivating these various varieties and breeds and so forth. Otherwise, they will only be able to make general appeals and unable to set forth specific requirements when coordinating and cooperating with the other sectors.

Another major issue that is closely related to the work of the union is that of implementing the marriage and the family law. Many new problems are arising in this area, problems which demand that the union conduct thorough research in order to make useful contributions. The marriage and the family law was promulgated more than 20 years ago; since then, the political, economic and social situation in our country has undergone many profound changes. Many developments have also occurred in the relationships between society and the family; these developments have had an inevitable impact upon the function and structure of the family, upon marriage and divorce. Thus, how are these matters to be viewed and resolved? Today, we must employ the theory and methods of sociology and must fully investigate, research and evaluate the situation in order to take steps to resolve problems in a correct manner.

As regards molding families of the new culture, if we only set forth a number of general standards, launch a movement and hold a conference to conduct a review, offer praise and so forth once every 6 months or year, we will have nothing more than a movement in name only. More important is the need for us to research the functions of the family under the socialist system. Besides the function of bearing children, the economic function differs from that under previous systems. Under the socialist system, the family's function of educating the young generally is of foremost importance and must be further emphasized. We must set forth specific requirements and measures regarding the teaching of children within the family and must imbue the various levels of the union with the attitude of consciously using scientific knowledge about the psychology and physiology of children and education to shed light on this matter.

Raising the matter of upgrading the mobilization of women to the level of theoretical research involving social investigations and more progressive work methods also means raising the matter of actively providing training to improve the qualifications and capabilities of women cadres, thereby meeting the requirements of the new situation.

The majority of women cadres were trained in the national democratic revolution. In the North, although the socialist revolution has been underway for more than 20 years the task of fighting the United States for national salvation consumed much time. At the same time, due to shortcomings on the part of the union's

leadership, the cadres engaged in mobilizing women have received little training in theory, in their profession, in scientific knowledge.

Today, it is necessary to have a systematic and long-term plan for the training of cadres, one extending from the central level to the basic level. As regards cadres now engaged in the mobilization of women, if they are capable of performing their work, the various levels of the union must take positive steps to provide them with advanced training in theory, science, their profession and the practical aspects of work among women while actively preparing the persons to succeed them. We must boldly attract young women cadres recruited from the various economic, scientific, educational and technical sectors and from the basic level and train them in politics, theory, the mobilization of the masses and the mobilization of women. The cadres engaged in the mobilization of women, regardless of their position, be they engaged in leadership activities or practical work, must have general knowledge of the social sciences, the natural sciences, economics, education and the theory of the liberation of women. The cadre training schools of the union's central committee and of the provinces must improve their programs and subject matter so that they can improve the abilities of the cadres engaged in the mobilization of women and meet the new requirements set forth by the recent 5th Congress of the Party.

### Part III

In the face of the new requirements of the present revolutionary situation and tasks, the mobilization of women must be under the close leadership and guidance of the party. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th Congress stated: "In order to continue to accelerate the liberation of women, achieve equality between men and women and further develop the role and capabilities of women in the work of building socialism and defending the fatherland, the various party committee echelons must insure that the party's viewpoint and policy regarding the mobilization of women is thoroughly understood within all organizations in the dictatorship of the proletariat system."(5)

The party has pointed out that the mobilization of women is not only the work of the Women's Union, but also the work of the entire party, of "all organizations within the dictatorship of the proletariat system." "We must struggle to abolish the feudal and bourgeois viewpoints in the evaluation of the forces and capabilities of women, in the training and utilization of female labor and women cadres and in resolving the specific problems regarding the daily lives of women and children."(6)

Women constitute more than one-half of the population and 60 percent of the labor force (as much as 70 percent in the countryside); without liberating women and without mobilizing the tremendous forces of women, it is impossible to overcome the difficulties we face and advance the various areas of our work. The degree to which women are liberated is the measurement of the development of the level of civilization of a society. To mobilize the tremendous forces of women, we

absolutely must concern ourselves with resolving the vital problems concerning the living conditions of women and children and resolving the difficulties that prevent women from developing their capabilities and contributing in every field.

The mobilization of women, from the central level to the basic level, must be more comprehensively led by the party. The party must encourage women to participate in the common work of the party and state and concern itself with resolving matters regarding the practical interests of women, equality between men and women and the liberation of women.

When assigning work to the Women's Union, it is also necessary to take into consideration the function of the union. Some members of the party committee echelon have stated: "The Women's Union must participate in every production job," "the Women's Union must resolve the problem of peddlers," "the Women's Union must undertake the work of solving the problem of bad children," etc. Of course, the Women's Union must participate in these jobs but if it is assigned jobs in a sweeping manner and the requirements of these jobs are too high, the mobilization of women will lack clear guidelines, the guidance provided by the union organizations on the various levels will be fragmented and no job will be thoroughly performed. For this reason, the party committee echelons must periodically discuss the mobilization of women, assign to the union jobs that are consistent with its function and capabilities and manage the coordination and cooperation of the various sectors in the mobilization of women.

In particular, importance must also be attached to training and promoting women cadres to the leadership positions of the party and state on all levels. The right of collective ownership of women and equality between men and women are manifested in an appropriate percentage of women holding positions of leadership within the economic management, state management and social management apparatus. Since the day that the South was totally liberated and the country was reunified, the issue of women cadres has been given light attention; the reason for this has been that economic construction and cultural development require scientific and technical knowledge and "women are inferior in this regard." Because light attention has been given to the training and promotion of women cadres, the percentage of women cadres engaged in leadership work on the various levels and in the various sectors has declined and the percentage of women party members is also low. If full importance is not attached to training, promoting and utilizing women cadres, women cannot grow rapidly and, as a result, a contingent of core cadres for the women's movement cannot be established. The various party committee echelons must adopt long-range planning for the training of women cadres and the various sectors must also adopt their own women cadre planning, considering it to be an indispensable part of the cadre planning of the party. Only in this way can the various party committee echelons truly create the conditions for the development of the women's movement, meet the requirements of the new situation and make positive contributions to the successful construction of socialism and the firm defense of the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th National Congress of Delegates, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4, 1982, p 28.
2. Ibid., p 65.
3. Ibid., p 70.
4. Ibid., p 67.
5. Ibid., p 70.
6. Ibid.

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DIMITUR STANISHEV: GEORGI DIMITROV, THE GREAT INTERNATIONALIST

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 82 pp 23-30

[Summary] On the occasion of Georgi Dimitrov's birth centenary, TAP CHI CONG SAN carried an article written for it by Comrade Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, "Georgi Dimitrov, The Great Internationalist." Georgi Dimitrov was an outstanding representative of new-style Leninist revolutionaries, a great son of the Bulgarian working class, a leader and teacher of the Communist Party and all the people of Bulgaria.

Outlining the salient points in Dimitrov's thoughts, the article points out: His strength, greatness and magnetism stemmed first from his boundless confidence in Marxism-Leninism and in his creativeness regarding Marxism-Leninism in revolutionary theory and practice. For Dimitrov, proletarian internationalism was the fundamental point in the whole theory and policy of proletarian parties and an irreplaceable weapon in the struggle of the enslaved and oppressed working class and masses of the people. Regarding the Soviet Union, Dimitrov affirmed: The litmus test to gauge the sincerity and purity of each activist in the workers' movement, of each workers party and each organization of working people, and of each member of the democratic parties in capitalist countries lies in their attitude toward the great country of socialism.

The article also highlights Dimitrov's thoughts on the unity of the international communist and workers' movement on all of the main problems of our era, particularly those relating to war and peace and to the dialectical unity between the patriotism and internationalism of the working class. Dimitrov himself was a shining example of the coordination of patriotism and internationalism in the practice of class struggle.

CSO: 4209/421

## SOME PROBLEMS ON TRAINING THE YOUNG GENERATION IN COMMUNISM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 82 pp 31-36, 66

[Article by Nguyen Khanh Toan]

[Text] Communist education does not simply mean the inculcation of cultural and social knowledge found in books. The real problem is to make use of this knowledge to train and forge the hearts, minds, bodies and skills of the young generation with the aim of gradually building them into comprehensively developed new men who can meet the pressing and fundamental requirements of the undertaking to build and defend the socialist fatherland.

This task seems at first glance not to be difficult; but once fully broached, it proves to be very difficult. For nothing is more difficult, complicated and sophisticated and requires more patience than the task of transforming the old man and building new ones. Uncle Ho taught: "For a decade of interests, we must plant trees; for a century of interests, we must plant men."<sup>1</sup> We are planting men for the purpose of successfully building socialism and firmly protect this undertaking. In this connection, Uncle Ho introduced a very fundamental axiom that is considered as a watchword for our communist education: "To build socialism we must first of all have socialist men."<sup>2</sup>

In the past we have recorded certain achievements in this undertaking to "plant men." However, there still remain some outstanding problems that require our attention and need to be solved satisfactorily. Efforts to educate the younger generation in communism must be aimed at meeting the immediate demands of society and, at the same time, designed for the future to keep up with each step of the development of the revolution. This is a lofty and heavy obligation for those who inherit the glorious cause of the older generations and who are continuing to build socialism and will proceed toward building communism.

With its diverse functions and heavy and complex tasks, communist education is truly a science and an art or rather, a combined science and a complicated art. It is the foundation of the socialist national culture. Considering its functions, content, nature and final goal, we can see that our entire education cause is nothing other than communist education--a perfect education system aimed at building fully developed men who possess communist ideals, good cultural, scientific and technological knowledge, good physical strength, fine ethics and sentiments, and good capability for practical actions.

What, then, are the basic objectives of the education of the young generation in communism?

First of all, it is aimed at instilling in the young generation the noble virtues that form the basis of the quality and capability of the new men. Comrade Kalinin, the head of the Soviet State for more than 25 years who gave special attention to the education of the young generation in the period following the October revolution, wrote: "In our country, new men are being built. We must infuse into these new men the noblest virtues of man...first, it is love--love for the people and love for the laboring masses. A man must love his countrymen...second, it is honesty...we must neither lie nor cheat; and must be honest with ourselves. Third. It is valor. Socialist men are working men who want to conquer the world--not only the earth but also the entire universe--and intellect will help them overcome all the hurdles. Fourth, it is friendship...the Soviet Union will become all the firmer and stronger if Soviet men are educated in intimate friendship at school while still at a tender age...love for the socialist fatherland will unite them together. Fifth, it is love for labor. We must not only love labor but also work with all our hearts; and it should be remembered that those who live and eat but do not work are living on the labor of others...it is necessary to make children understand practically that labor is an issue pertaining to human dignity.<sup>3</sup> "In simpler words, the principles of communism are the principles of progressive, honest and well-educated men who display altruistic feelings, loyalty, love for socialist labor and other noble virtues which everyone can possess. Fostering and developing these outstanding characteristics is a fundamental factor of the communist education system."<sup>4</sup>

Similar to these principles in both content and spirit, the five teachings of Uncle Ho for children constitute a lively, creative and appealing document that is both simple and meaningful. Though said to be designed for children, it is in reality a platform and a project for building new men in the ethical, intellectual, physical and aesthetic fields, which is totally suitable to the conditions of our country and people. It can be understood and carried out not only by educators but also by young and old parents of all walks of life--be they intellectuals, workers, peasants or other laboring people; and be they of majority of minority ethnic groups. To say it is designed for children means that the building of new men must begin from an early age when their hearts and minds are still pure and their bodies are still weak--like young rice plants that have just entered the blossoming stage and require extremely careful care and protection against unpredictable weather and harmful pests.

Our people do not have many difficulties understanding these education principles laid down by our respected and beloved leader because they already possess valuable age-old experience in the upbringing of children with spectacular and scientific methods and with maternal love and affection for the young ones as has been widely popularized by such proverbs as:

Children must be taught while they are still babies; and

Blessed is the home in which the son excels his father.

Proceeding from the aforementioned viewpoints concerning communist education, we are of the opinion that in order to ensure systematic and uniform development of this education system, we must carry out activities uniformly in three fields--one, education in the communist ideology; two, education in communist ethics; and three, training and trial through practical actions in the spirit of communism.

In giving first priority to education in communist ideology and considering it as the key factor of education, we are not afraid of the contention held by some people that we are using a new, modern term to revive a guiding principle for education in the feudal era--that of learning manners first and letters afterwards. For in the last analysis, since society was formed into classes, where and when has conventional education not been geared to the training of men who are loyal to the existing social system?

The difference here, however, lies not in terminology but in the nature of the matter and the objectives of policies and actions. Under the systems wherein man exploits man, education and examination, whatever the form in which they are carried out, only have the sole purpose of turning talented persons into instruments blindly serving the ruling class of slavemasters, feudal lords and owners of enterprises and banks. Therefore, under those systems, for the education in manners in which the guiding watchword is to replace persuasion with coercion and to use the bait of fame and wealth, two noneducational methods are used--deception and force. Meanwhile, the socialist system has the historic mission of doing away with all forms of oppression and exploitation and of building a classless society in which the people are the sole masters. This system entrusts the schools with the noble responsibility to train highly enlightened and fully developed men who love their fatherland, socialism, science, labor, the people and mankind, and who devote all their life to the struggle for socialism and communism. Communist ideology is the revolutionary ideology of the most revolutionary social class--the working class. It negates the ideologies of the exploiting classes. In the countries belonging to the socialist community, communist ideology plays a dominant and monopolistic role in social life. There is no question here of agreement, compromise or peaceful coexistence with nonproletarian ideologies.

Naturally, in building the communist ideology, while resolutely discarding that which has become the refuse of history and the reactionary thoughts, philosophies and doctrines developed by the old and new exploiting classes to poison the hearts and minds of the exploited, we do not put aside but search for, preserve and develop the lofty values which the old generations have created in the persistent and difficult struggle for the building and defense of the country, and which have greatly contributed to enhancing the stalwart character and the noble dignity of the nation. We cannot "simply confine ourselves to communist conclusions and learn by rote communist slogans. Communism cannot be created this way. People can only become communists after enriching their minds with the understanding of all the treasures of knowledge that mankind has unearthed."<sup>5</sup>

The 4,000-year history of stalwart and indomitable struggle of the Vietnamese nation against foreign aggression and natural calamities reflects the vigorous and wonderful vitality of our people that is derived from ardent patriotism.



The invincible strength of this patriotism lies in the fact that it is closely linked with love for the people, affection among fellow countrymen, nothing is more precious than the spirit of independence and freedom, and the lofty sense of protection for the dignity and rights of man. This spirit of patriotism, unlike chauvinism and bigoted nationalism, is imbued with humanitarianism.

In this sense, we hold that in the current transition period, education in communist ideology should be closely combined with education in nationalist ideology in the spirit of our people's genuine patriotism. Such a combination between the two ideologies will create socialist patriotism which identifies love for the country with love for socialism. This is, in practice, the basis for satisfactorily carrying out education in communist ideology.

Thus, it is not because we are heavily burdened with nationalist sentiments but because of the objective realities over the past half a century and more beginning from the time when the Vietnamese revolution was led by the Communist Party under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, that our people, under the guidance of President Ho, has taken the path of going from genuine patriotism to scientific communism. In view of this, in inculcating communist ideology, it is most important that we develop, through cultural knowledge, the basic understanding of the scientific world concept of Marxism-Leninism and the communist philosophy of life, of the nation's fine traditions, and of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism; and struggle constantly against all ideological viewpoints calling for alienation from and opposition to communist ideology, which at present consist most notably of the viewpoints of bigoted bourgeois or petit-bourgeois nationalism, pragmatism in consumption and enjoyment, and individualism. In this struggle, we find that the following observation of Lenin is all the more profound: "All indications of neglect of the communist ideology and all indications of alienation from the socialist ideology will contribute to strengthening the bourgeois ideology."<sup>6</sup>

Education in communist ideology will only stop with awareness, and will be ineffective and may be useless if it is not supplemented with education in communist ethics and training through practical actions in the spirit of communism, for ethics are related to sentiments and actions. The life of the young generation, with all its strong and weak points, requires that we devote much thought and painstaking efforts to make it mature quickly in both wisdom and feelings. Our young generation can definitely not be anything but worthy and true inheritors of communism. This is the most precious legacy that we--the predecessors--can leave behind. Therefore, education in communist ethics is of special importance. Education in communist ideology is already difficult; but education in communist ethics is even more so.

Nevertheless, to have communist ethics does not mean to possess surreal feelings and to do the impossible. Furthermore, communist ethics cannot be automatically developed simply by pointing out and learning by heart the relevant principles. Instead, these principles must be applied to daily life, to practical actions and to current and future undertakings--from trivial to important ones--with fine feelings. Communist ethics require that words be matched with deeds and revolutionary feelings be closely linked with revolutionary actions.

Therefore, to inculcate communist ethics is to make the young generation fully understand the following basic principle and act accordingly: All for the cause of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland; and all for the people's happiness. One for all and all for one. Only with independence for the fatherland and freedom for the people can everyone live a full life and be well-educated, healthy and happy; can their children receive a good education; and can their future be guaranteed. Through practical actions in labor, combat and study, the young citizens can actively participate in the defense of the fatherland's independence, enhance the people's freedom and happiness, and exercise their right to mastery.

Like love for the socialist fatherland, love for socialist labor is a noble feeling that we must infuse into the young generation at present. This love for labor is reflected in the actual work that is being done every day by tens of [words indistinct] in the various enterprises, mines, worksites, state farms, cooperatives, transportation units, combat units, scientific research organs and schools throughout the country. For youths and teenagers, love for socialist labor starts with the desire for knowledge, diligence in study and participation in productive labor.

In keeping with Uncle Ho's teaching that "to go to school is to love the country," we must by every means encourage and motivate the youths and teenagers to develop a spirit of desire for knowledge and diligence in study. This is at the same time their sacred right and primary ethical obligation. It is also the heavy obligation of all parents. Some negative phenomena have emerged among the youths at present, such as laziness, truancy, impoliteness, spoiling, vagrancy, disturbance of order and security, and so forth; and this has happened not without the intervention of the imperialists and international reaction who are intensively attacking us on the ideological and cultural front with deceptive and false exhortations for "human rights" and "comfortable life" within the structure of a "consumer society," with decadent cultural works of different kinds, with the appeal of a pragmatist lifestyle, and so forth. They have hit at the soft spots of the young generation, weakening their national and class awareness, inducing them to live according to their instincts, and injecting into them the poison of individualism.

As we all know, the education system of the socialist countries is centered around general education. This is because a general education school serves as a mold to form the initial shape and a greenhouse to grow the sprouts of developed men for the future. Only with a good general education will we have a firm basis for developing vocational education, advanced vocational training and advanced and higher education; for an imposing building can only be built on a firm foundation.

General schools, therefore, are where we have the best conditions for helping the party and state provide communist education for the young generation successfully. The basic thing is that in carrying out education, the schools must enforce strictly the five teachings of Uncle Ho; and the only way to do this is to strive for academic and scholastic excellence.

The schools and their faculties are primarily responsible for educating the young generation. However, since our education system is a communist

education system and it is closely related with social life, society is also responsible for educating the young generation under the principle "the state and people work together." Therefore, our education system consists of three closely interrelated environments: schools, families and society. Each of these environments must make its active contributions and fully discharge its responsibility. Along with the schools, families and society, and especially the families, play a very important role in the present conditions wherein the youths spend the greater part of their time with their families and the society is not yet fully prepared to control them satisfactorily.

In view of this, the problem of "protecting the environments" must be raised with urgency, especially with regard to the social aspect. To do this no one is more suitable, more fully qualified and better-equipped than the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and the Vietnam Women's Union. The political report of the party Central Committee to the Fifth Party Congress pointed out: "The youth union must carry out even more satisfactorily the task of organizing its members and youths and of educating them in socialism and communism." Nevertheless, this work must be legalized into state regulations--an indispensable part of the socialist legal system. We must also devise practical and effective measures to combine these three environments, and clearly define the functions of each environment. At the same time, it is necessary to clarify the measures, forms and responsibilities involved in the work format according to which the state and the people work together. Only by doing so can we uphold the sense of mastery and ensure the right to mastery of each environment and each component in the undertaking to build and develop communist education for the young generation in our country. This difficult but glorious undertaking will surely be pushed ahead more vigorously under the light of the resolutions of the Fifth Party Congress.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh, "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi 1980 Book 2 p 91.
2. Ibid. p 209.
3. M. Kalinin, "Communist Education," Moscow Foreign Language Publishing House 1954 French Edition pp 50-52.
4. Ibid. p 5.
5. V.I. Lenin, "Discussions on Youths," Progress Publishing House, Moscow 1966 p 256.
6. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow Book 6 p 50.

CSO: 4209/421

## THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LITERATURE-ART AND POLITICS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 82 pp 36-43

[Article by Ha Xuan Truong]

[Text] Again we shall discuss a basic matter of literature and art(1): the relationship between literature-art and politics. This is an issue that has always been the subject of debate in the world as the revolution has developed and, today, even within our country, this issue is again being faced. The reasons for discussing this issue again in our country are many; however, one reason is most deserving of attention: the revolutionary struggle in our country has entered a new stage, the political task of the new stage is very large and complex, the masses demand that literature and art meet the requirements of this task and literature and art themselves also demand much stronger and richer development compared to the past period of development.

### Part I

As is the case with a number of other terms, the term "politics" has both a broad meaning and a narrow meaning. To emphasize the importance of a task within a certain field, we usually mention its political significance or, in other words, its political task. The word "politics" has assumed transcending importance, goes beyond the significance of one separate field and is no longer restricted to the scope of a special form of social consciousness besides the other special forms of social consciousness. However, the concept "politics" still retains its essential meaning, which encompasses the goals of the struggle, the meaning of the classes and class stand. Lenin said: "Politics is the struggle among the classes, politics is the attitude of the proletariat struggling to liberate itself, struggling against the bourgeoisie throughout the world."(2)

Once a class has formed, it must, of necessity, have its own ideological and political system. The ideological and political system encompasses all the viewpoints of a class concerning the structure of the political organization of society, the nature and functions of the state, war and peace, the issues pertaining to the freedom and independence of a people, a nation, the position of each class, each group, each circle, each individual within society and so forth. Politics refers to a form of social consciousnesses, to the ideological and political system.

We should not confuse the ideological and political system with the political task at any moment in time, in each stage or during each period nor should we confuse the ideological and political system with immediate political tasks; of course, these tasks and these jobs are concrete manifestations of the ideological and political system. The ideological and political system of the proletariat has Marxism-Leninism as its foundation or, in other words, is the Marxist-Leninist ideological and political system. It is the complete opposite of the ideological and political system of the bourgeoisie. When the proletariat is not in political power, the political struggle is the greatest, the highest goal. The economic struggle is a low form of struggle, one that prepares for the political struggle. The sharp antagonisms between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are manifested in all fields but they are sharpest in the political field. For this reason, ideology and politics influence the various forms of social consciousness and have a decisive influence upon the guidelines of the social struggle; conversely, the different forms (religion, ethics and so forth) also affect politics and cause politics, although it is based on the interests of the class, to take many different directions and assume many different shades even within the same class.

Literature and art are closely associated with labor; literature and art are a special form of man's awareness of society and nature, the purpose of which is the existence, the transformation and the continual enhancement of the thinking and feelings--generally speaking, the personality--of man. The development of labor and the changes in the various forms of social life have created the conditions for literature and art to become a special and independent (relatively) form and have gradually led to the division of literature and art into special fields: architecture, painting, engraving, music, dance, literature, etc. In contrast to politics, literature and art emerged when mankind was not divided into classes but, because of their direct relationship with the social struggle and with social relations, when mankind was divided into classes and the class struggle became a moving force behind the development of mankind, literature and art became different forms of social consciousness that were inevitably under the direct influence of the political struggle and, from the point of view of supporting the goals of one class or another, literature and art also became a political force, a political matter. Literature and art, which are the form with the most distinct class nature, have specific tendencies: they are the weapon of ideology, are the means for winning over souls and guiding the masses within the orb of one class or another. Literature and art embody numerous political tendencies as a result of the various political tendencies of the classes in society. Consequently, the fact that literature and art are closely associated with politics is an objective law; the relationship between politics and literature-art is not a "fair weather" relationship in which a relationship is established if it is beneficial but not established if it is not beneficial nor is it a "relationship in which both sides benefit equally," rather, it is a relationship that has the purpose of the continued existence of literature and art themselves, the victory of politics and, ultimately, the happiness of the people and the beautiful life of man on earth. In an article entitled "The Organization of the Party and Party Literature," Lenin criticized without regret the false arguments about "absolute freedom" of "the bourgeois individualists" and confirmed the principle

of partyhood in literature and art. "Literature must become a component of the undertaking of the entire proletariat, a small gear and a screw in the great, united social-democratic machine controlled by the enlightened vanguard unit of the entire working class." Lenin required that writers and artists struggle for communism, struggle for a genuine freedom for literature and art, obey the organization of the party and competently support the political objectives of the party.

While confirming that the class struggle (or, in other words, the political struggle) controls the activities of literature and art, Lenin affirmed the special characteristics of literature and art, which are a special form of man's awareness of the objective world and himself, and their tremendous role in abolishing the old society, transforming man and the old lifestyle and building the new society, molding the new man and establishing the new lifestyle. Because of the special nature of literature and art and because of their close relationship with the political form of society, in the course of the development of literature, two tendencies have always been present:

1. Participating in the political struggle, considering it to be the mission of literature and art, of writers and artists.

2. Being divorced from the political struggle, considering politics to be a constraint upon literature and art, to cause literature and art to lose their freedom. In actuality, this second trend is an illusion that has been used by the bourgeoisie. Bourgeois theoreticians have fabricated such viewpoints as: "art is the eyewitness of the age," "art for art's sake," "art is politics-politics in and of itself," "art is the liberation of the individual," "genuine art is absolutely free art," etc. The bourgeoisie seeks to achieve two purposes through these viewpoints: 1) to prevent the participation in the revolutionary struggle by writers and artists who are "neutral" or are in the "third force" in literature and art (persons who have lost their confidence in the "free world" but have not yet joined the revolution) and winning them over to the side of the bourgeoisie; 2) to protect the various trends of individualism in art, which are becoming increasingly bankrupt, deadlocked and diseased. The political objectives of the bourgeoisie, of the imperialists and their lackeys are very clear and their tricks are cleverly based on the special characteristics of literature and art and the demands for absolute freedom by petty bourgeois intellectuals, who always constitute the majority of intellectuals, in general, and the intellectuals in literature and art, not only in the capitalist countries, but also in the newly independent countries that are still within their sphere of influence. Through these tricks together with psychological warfare, distortions and slander (such as the distortion of the situations in Kampuchea and Afghanistan, the provocation of the events in 1956 in Hungary and 1968 in Czechoslovakia and the attempt to exploit the negative aspects of the present Polish situation), they hope to win over a number of writers and artists whose awareness is low, who lack confidence in the victory of socialism. Every so often, they launch an intense campaign "against the harsh restrictions of the socialist countries upon writers and artists" and against socialist realism, distorting it as a kind of "political realism," a kind of "command realism," etc.

As long as there are still classes in society, as long as there are still opposing classes in the world, the political struggle will always control all the other activities of society. The economy is used in this struggle; the U.S. imperialists are increasingly utilizing methods that they brazenly call "economic punishment" and "economic blows," to serve their sinister political objectives. Today, the scientific and technological revolution is developing with unprecedented strength and many new sciences (natural as well as social) have been born as a result of the needs for a high level of specialization and a high level of production, thereby changing the position of the various segments of the working class and intellectual circles. This inevitable development of mankind has been and is confusing many persons. Some persons have maintained that the nature of the working class has changed, that Marx's theory of class struggle has become outmoded and that every circle and every individual must find their own path, the path of one's own development (automouvement). The betrayal by Ga-ro-dy [Vietnamese phonetics] also progressed from Marxism revisionism to turning his back on it. The secret of the J.P. Sartre, or A. Camus was that they abandoned Marxism and searched for and found a separate theory (a kind of "humanism," a third path, a theory never before developed in the world in which the class struggle between workers and capitalists assumes new and increasingly violent forms). At the end of his life, J.P. Sartre presented the slogan of struggle "waging guerrilla war against the old ones" (faire le guerilla contre les vieux)(3) and supporting the "cultural revolution" of Mao Zedong. The forms and methods of the class struggle in the modern age have undergone many changes but the antagonism of the struggle remains the same: the antagonism between the working class and the bourgeoisie. The revolutionary struggle of today further confirms the leadership role of the working class and its vanguard unit, the communist party. This struggle is, above everything else, a political struggle; it controls and directs every other activity toward its objectives. Literature and art participate in the political struggle by means of their internal vitality, by means of their own strengths; however, they have no political objectives of their own, rather, they must obey the organization, must serve the political line of a given class, a given party. Proletarian literature and art and writers and artists who struggle for the ideals of communism must obey the organization of the communist party, must support the political tasks set forth by the communist party. This "obeying" or "supporting" does not cause literature and art to lose their independence, does not cause writers and artists to lose their creative freedom. To the contrary, in order to gain the participation of the forces of writers and artists in the revolution and bring literature and art within the orb of the revolution so that they competently support the revolution, the party of the working class must understand the special characteristics of literature and art, their nature and laws, must guarantee the creative freedom of writers and artists, must liberate them from the material as well as spiritual constraints (or influences) of the exploiting classes and must liberate them from the prejudices and habits that these classes have accumulated over many centuries.

## Part II

The struggle that the proletariat wages under the leadership of its vanguard unit, the communist party, is generally divided into two periods: the period of seizing political power and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and

the period of socialist and communist transformation and construction. The specifics, requirements and forms of the class struggle in the two periods are fundamentally different. The class struggle in our country under the leadership of our party has generally followed the same course of development but has been carried out under the special conditions of a backward agricultural country ruled by colonialism, both old and new, for many years. In the more than one-half century of struggle, our party had to devote 45 years to leading the people in carrying out the task of national liberation. The requirements of the political struggle in our country have been extremely stern requirements, as seen primarily in the two sacred wars of resistance waged by the nation against the French imperialists and the U.S. imperialists. For this reason, the foremost task in the ideological work of the party has been to teach politics to the people, to widely and deeply cultivate patriotism and the revolutionary spirit of fighting imperialism. The vast majority of our writers and artists responded to the appeal of the party and devoted their energies and talents to very competently supporting the two wars of resistance and the initial work of socialist transformation and socialist construction in the North. As President Ho said, writers and artists became soldiers and the freedom of writers and artists was closely linked to the independence and freedom of the nation. In no period of history have the responsibility of writers and artists or the work of literature and art been fulfilled as well as they have over the past 35 years. However, the leadership of the party in the field of literature and art has not always followed a smooth, straight course. Debates and struggles concerning the relationship between politics and literature-art occurred even during the first years of the resistance against the French as well as the first years of socialist transformation in the North and the years when the resistance against the United States had reached a pinnacle and was about to reach a turning point. The sharpness of the struggle was at times increased as a result of the activities of the enemies of socialism, as was the case between 1956 and 1958. As regards the specific guidance that was provided, some components, some localities and some comrades at times committed mistakes, such as applying the slogans "literature and art supporting politics" and "literature and art providing timely support" in a mechanical, pragmatic manner that reduced the characteristics of literature and art to information and agitation. In 1948, in order to correct these deviations, Truong Chinh, at the 2nd National Cultural Congress, presented the viewpoint of the party concerning the relationship between propaganda and literature-art. And, at the 2nd National Literature and Art Congress (February, 1957), Truong Chinh once again confirmed Lenin's viewpoint concerning literature and art and presented the viewpoint of the party: "Politics(4) leads literature and art primarily by means of the line (which includes the line on literature and art), policy guidelines and organization, not by intervening in specific issues of a specialized nature (such as selecting subjects, selecting the form of art and so forth). Politics leads literature and art not by means of administrative orders or by bringing pressure to bear upon the feelings and thinking of artists and writers. Politics does not lead literature and art by means of placing creativity in a mold or stifling creativity but through the subjective creativity of the writer and artist and by respecting their initiative and creativity; politics does not



lead literature and art by forcing writers and artists to repeat political slogans in a dry, reluctant and awkward manner..."

Literature and art support politics, that is, support the fatherland, support the people, support the struggle to achieve the peaceful reunification of the country and support socialist transformation and socialist construction. The ways in which literature and art provide this support are very diverse; writers and artists must provide this support on a totally voluntary basis and must take the initiative in their works."

We have established a true system of literature and art, "a literature and art worthy of being in the vanguard ranks of the anti-imperialist literature and art of our times," because the vast majority of our writers and artists are close to the vanguard party of the working class, because our writers and artists voluntarily support the political task of our party. Today, our entire country is in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism, which is a period of extreme hardships and difficulties in the course of the development of the Vietnamese revolution. In the face of a very complex situation, such as the one our country faces today, and even though they are under the impact of many ideological trends in the world, especially since the liberation of the South, the vast majority of our writers and artists have firmly adhered to the stand and viewpoint of our party while consciously accepting the new and continuing to follow the course of literature and art with which they have closely associated themselves, thereby recording noteworthy achievements, with unprecedented, outstanding achievements being recorded in some sectors, such as cinematography and musical performances. However, there have also been some deviations in literature and art in recent years that the Party Central Committee has criticized. It is regrettable that the acceptance of this criticism has not been widespread and that theoretical and critical activities have not displayed their militant nature. Besides such arbitrary phenomena as banning a film or ignoring a play simply because they do not directly support the immediate work task of a locality, haphazardly criticizing a work of art without fully understanding the intentions of the author, without examining how it is received by the masses and so forth, laxity in the viewpoint concerning or the guidance of literature and art still exist. There are still vague understandings of the relationship between politics and literature-art.

One of the characteristics of literature and art is that they are multi-faceted and convey many meanings. This characteristic is not only determined by the author himself, but also by each person who enjoys literature and art. Of course, every author wants his readers or viewers to fully understand the contents and methods of his art but the acceptance of art also depends upon the person enjoying it (level of education, age group, desires and so forth) and the social and historical circumstances under which this art is enjoyed. Without understanding this special characteristic, it is easy to view literature and art on the basis of the subjective thinking of each person. However, it is chiefly because of this

special characteristic that works of art are easily exploited in political schemes. It is not surprising that Marx and Engels as well as Lenin were particularly concerned with the political nature of the evaluations of famous writers and artists. Lenin wrote six articles about Lev Tolstoy not only because Tolstoy was a great writer, but because Lenin had to identify Tolstoy with the people and the proletariat, expose the sinister scheme of the Russian and international bourgeoisie and "reject the fake ethics of the liberal faction" in Russia, which was exploiting the contradictions in Tolstoy's world view and works. In our country, Nguyen Du and Truyen Kieu were scrutinized under the prism of each class. And, the common practice of some writers and artists has been to use the "multi-faceted" characteristic of literature and art to create "two-faced" works designed to publicly attack ruling forces or systems that they do not like. In today's complex struggle against the psychological war of the enemy, the party again reminds us to be vigilant against "two-faced" works of literature and art that dissatisfied persons or enemies might produce with a view toward attacking the leadership cadres and agencies of our party and state and discrediting our system. We cannot sympathize with a number of persons who only emphasize the many different meaning and multi-faceted nature of literature and art and who demand that we abandon the concept of "two-faced" works of literature and art, which is a real phenomenon at present and in the past as well. Of course, we also oppose every kind of subjective deductive reasoning that "confuses one thing with another" and diminishes the zeal of genuine writers and artists who wish to make a loyal statement against the negative phenomena of society.(5)

The writers and artists of the party must closely adhere to the political task of the party, must maintain a sensitive attitude in the face of the new issues arising in life as well as the face of political events at home and abroad. This is the citizen's function of a writer and artist. The requirement that writers and artists must "closely adhere" to the political task does not mean that writers and artists must perform the work of persons engaged in information and agitation work or that writers and artists must create "works of art" that yield results as immediately as political work does, rather, writers and artists must always live with the reality of the country, a reality that changes on a daily basis, under the guidance of the political line of the party. However, there are still some who maintain that the requirement that literature and art "closely adhere" to the political tasks of the party renders literature and art to the ordinary and reflects a lack of understanding of the long-range, underlying nature of literature and art; they consider helping the party committee to remold thinking for an immediate political task to be a "political service," not literature and art. Let us return to the issue of "art and propaganda," which was raised in 1948 and resolved by Truong Chinh as follows: "Art and propaganda are not complete opposites nor are they entirely the same... At a certain level of development, propaganda becomes art. Effective art, at a certain level of development, is clearly propaganda in nature. Therefore, there can be propagandists who are not or not yet artists but there cannot be artists who are in no way propagandists."(6) When discussing literature and art in a speech at the All-North Vietnam Propaganda and Education Conference ( April, 1962), Le Duan said: "Some comrades complain and want to know why, if they are engaged in literature

and art, they must also support the policy of the party. Such a complaint is incorrect. The policy is nothing more than the line, than the position for carrying out the tasks of the revolution, is nothing more than the objective requirements of the development of society; the policy is reason. However, to implement this policy, that is, this reasoning, we must have feelings; therefore, we must have literature and art." Drawing a clear line between propaganda and literature-art and complaining that "literature and art must support policy" will lead to the impoverishment of propaganda efforts and cause literature and art, especially the mass literature and art movement, to lose their inherent sensitivity, and it is from within this movement that talents emerge, if we know how to detect them. In the history of literature and art at home and abroad, we can cite hundreds of examples of timely works of literature and art that have lived forever as works of true value. Moreover, the revolutionary literature and art of Vietnam, although still young, possess strong vitality, possess a rare militant strength because they are a literature and art that took part in the revolution at its very outset and that have continued to take part in it in the flames of the two wars and in the nationwide socialist transformation and construction of today.

During the past 2 years, there has been a trend toward making combating the influence of Maoism a main objective of ideological work in literature and art. The persons who support this tendency maintain that the shortcomings of our literature and art in recent years, namely, of being based on formulas and being abbreviated, are the result of "proper realism" and that the guideline for eliminating "proper realism" is to combat the influences of Maoism, which they maintain is prevalent in our literature and art. Some persons want to re-examine the party's criticism of the deviations caused by wavering in a number of works of art in 1973 and 1974 and some persons even want to re-examine the criticism of incorrect trends divorced from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the basic viewpoints in the party's line on literature and art in the recent past despite a Party Secretariat resolution on ideology and an explanatory article written by Le Duc Tho, an important portion of which was dedicated to literature and art. Meanwhile, the issues of strengthening the party spirit of writers and artists, the issue of cultivating the world view of young forces and the issue of closely adhering to the political tasks of the party in this complex and difficult stage of the revolution are considered by them to be old issues or, at the very least, to be issues not worthy of much concern. Anyone who talks about class stand is placed by them in the ranks of the "Maoists." In actuality, raising the matter in this manner is remote from the central political task of the party in ideological work, in general, as well as in the effort to combat Maoism, which is the present policy of our party--to combat Beijing expansionism and hegemony, the worst form of Maoism while criticizing fake Maoist Marxist arguments and eradicating the harmful influences of Maoism in order to protect the correct revolutionary line of our party.

The development of our party's literature and art line over the past several decades has been the revolutionary development of the principles of Marxism-Leninism creatively applied to the conditions of our country. Some of the important successes of this line have been the establishment of the correct relationship

between politics and literature-art, the establishment of the extremely important role and position of literature and art in the revolution and the establishment of the party's leadership of literature and art. The 5th Congress of the Party highly evaluated the contributions that have been made by our writers and artists, encouraged all research and creativity for the sake of the socialist fatherland and the happiness of the people and required that our writers and artists firmly adhere to the method of socialist realism, strengthen their party spirit and further heighten their spirit of responsibility. We have confidence in our corps of writers and artists, who have been forged and educated by the party, and in the glorious future of the country's literature and art, a literature and art led and built by the party and whose first seeds were sown by the revered Uncle Ho.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. In this article, art consists of literature and art.
2. V.I. Lenin: "On Culture and Literature," Van Hoc Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 428.
3. J.P. Sartre said nothing new, he merely repeated a formula of the bourgeoisie: the eternal hostility among the generations and the viewpoint of Trotsky: "Youths are the thermometer of the revolution."
4. Here, politics means the party or the political line of the party.
5. The fact that art has many meanings does not mean that a person may interpret or use art in any way he pleases despite the piece of art itself. Attention must be given to another extremely important characteristic, if not to say the decisive characteristic of a work of art. This characteristic is the complete dynamism of a work, which indicates the aesthetic tendency, meaning and impact of the work.
6. "On Culture and Art," Van Hoa Publishing House, Hanoi, 1972, pp 118-119.

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CSO: 4209/421

COMMEMORATING THE 160TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF NGUYEN DINH CHIEU (1822-1982):  
OUR NATION'S STAUNCH PATRIOTIC FIGHTER AT THE END OF THE 19TH CENTURY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 82 pp 44-47,70

[Article by Nguyen Tai Thu]

[Text] Part I

Nguyen Dinh Chieu was a great patriot and a talented poet; at the same time, he was a tenacious fighter on the cultural and ideological front of our nation in the late 19th Century. "The life and poetry of Nguyen Dinh Chieu were those of a fighter who sacrificed and struggled for a great cause."(1)

The age of Nguyen Dinh Chieu was an age filled with changes. The social antagonisms between the Nguyen Dynasty and the feudal landowners, on one side, and the peasantry, on the other side, were becoming increasingly sharp. Uprisings by the people were continuously breaking out. Repeated bloody massacres were carried out by the imperial court.

The French pirates were gradually taking over. The Hue imperial court disgracefully surrendered. Brave wars of resistance were waged by the people but they were not well organized. "The French colonialists invaded and occupied our country, our people's loss of their country meant the loss of independence and freedom, the loss of the right to life and even the loss of the national culture that had been developed over thousands of years of history."(2)

Nguyen Dinh Chieu was an eyewitness to the changes of his time. When he was 10 years old, the imperial court sentenced Le Van Duyet to prison on fabricated charges. When he was 11 years old, Le Van Khoi staged an uprising in Gia Dinh and Nung Van Van staged an uprising in Cao Bang. When he was 36 years old, the French attacked Da Nang; when he was 37 years old, the French attacked his birthplace, Gia Dinh; when he was 40 years old, the imperial court yielded three provinces in eastern Nam Bo to France; when he was 41 years old, his younger brother, Nguyen Dinh Huan, was killed in battle at Can Duoc; when he was 42 years old, the partisan army hero Truong Dinh was killed; when he was 45 years old, the three provinces of the western region were lost; when he was 46 years old,

1st Laureate Huan was arrested and Phan Tong died in battle. The chain of political events that occurred during the years of his life filled with misfortune disturbed him, made him indignant, caused him pain and caused him to think.

As was the case with many other Vietnamese contemporaries, this patriot loved the people and hated the enemy. However, he did not avoid life or wait for better times as Mr. Quan, Mr. Ngu, and Mr Tieu did. He saw his responsibility to save the people, to save the country by taking action and immersing himself in life.

Blind in both eyes, he could not realize his ambition to be a man who suppressed rebellions and saved the people. He could not organize wars of resistance, not command troops as Truong Dinh or Phan Tong did and not join the ranks of the partisan army, as Nguyen Dinh Huan, his younger brother, did or as Do Trinh Thoai, his friend, did. However, his deep love of the people and the country moved him to participate in the fight.

Although he had lost his eyesight, he still had ears with which to hear, a mind with which to think and hands with which to write. He selected poetry as his method of fighting. He wrote scores of works, such as "Luc Van Tien," "Duong Tu-Ha Mau," and "Ngu Tieu y thuat van dap," and many other patriotic poems. He ranked among the most prolific writers and poets of our country in the late 19th Century.

Aglow with the flames of combat, each of his works, each article written by him had an obvious purpose, as seen in the details of the story or in direct statements by the author. In his works, it was very easy to determine whether he was criticizing or praising something, whether he was for or against something. He was proud of the way he worked:

"If it is not overloaded, a boat will not sink  
And, there is nothing evil at taking a blow at a few villains!"  
(Than dao)

"I studied being an impartial writer  
But within my verses resides the heart of spring and fall."  
(Ngu Tieu y thuat van dap)

Possessing ardent patriotism and a deep love of the people and an outstanding will and talent, he recorded excellent achievements on the cultural and ideological front of his time.

He exposed the hypocrisy of the imperial court, of those who proclaimed themselves to be the symbols of love and righteousness, of benevolence, of peace and prosperity; he exposed the deceptive nature of the "enlightenment" and "spreading civilization" arguments of the French pirates. He caused the people to detest and hate the actions of the country-robbers and traitors and, on this basis, accentuated the ethics of our nation of patriotism and love of the people.

He propagandized and heightened the sense of honor, the sense of doing that which is honorable. This sense of honor was a fine tradition of our people that had been tarnished by those who were in power. He awakened love of that which is noble, of chivalry and directed everyone's attention to that which was honorable, to bravely doing that which was honorable, to feeling that doing the honorable brings happiness: "Remember the saying 'without honor there is no purpose.' Such a person is not heroic!"... "Remember the saying 'have a sense of honor and despise riches'"... and "do a favor for another and it will be returned!" (Luc Van Tien).

He praised those persons who served the country with no regard for themselves, who overcame catastrophies for the people, persons whom the rulers, country-robbers and traitors feared very much. He emphasized their beauty through beautiful images, beautiful phrases and beautiful feelings, thereby showing everyone that these persons were noble, were worthy of praise. Representative of the heroes created by him were Van Tien, who attacked the robbers and rescued their victims; Hon Minh, who broke the leg of the son of a district official who was licentious; Truong Dinh, who instead of obeying the king's command, listened to the people and fought tenaciously; Phan Tong, who died in battle, inflicting injuries upon a hundred enemy and so forth; these heroes live forever as beautiful symbols, as bright examples.

He appealed for responsibility to the people and the country. Wherever he was and in every situation against the background of the country being lost and families being destroyed, he reminded everyone of their obligation to the country, to the people:

"Should we crush this rebellion  
Or allow the common people to suffer this tragedy?"  
(Chay giac)

"Our forefathers are still in Dong Nai  
and who would not go rescue a newborn child?"  
(Van te nghia si can-giuoc)

"Shall the common poeple be forever suppressed  
Where is Mr. Ha Vu now?"  
(Nuoc lut)

"This state of affairs of being on the side of the Ho or the Han  
When will we ever be united as one?"  
(Van te Truong-Dinh)

Throughout his life, Nguyen Dinh Chieu closely linked himself to the life of the nation, immersed himself in this life, recognized the problems raised by life, saw his responsibility and bravely fought like a soldier with all his energy.

## Part II

The class struggle and the national struggle at the end of the 19th Century in our country gave birth to many outstanding poets and thinkers. Within each specific field, they reflected the indignation of the people over the imperial court and the cruel bullies, reflected the nation's desire for independence and sovereignty, presented accurate observations and spoke immortal words. Phan Van Tri expressed the dissatisfaction of the people with the king and the dishonest landlords in the sentence: "Do not labor in vain, do not go around in circles." Nguyen Van Lac exposed the decadent nature of the puppet village officials in the countryside and the corrupt nature of those who joined the enemy in harming the country and harming the people through the images of a shrimp with excrement on its head and a drowned dog. Nguyen Trung Truc stated his determination to fight the enemy until the end: "I will fight the westerners as long as there is grass at Thap Muoi, as long as there are people in the South." Generally speaking, however, no one was the equal of Nguyen Dinh Chieu. His poems were a brilliant pinnacle. They embodied genuine patriotism, a genuine love of the people, a hatred of dictatorship, of violence, of aggression. They embodied an unshakeable will to achieve national independence, the heart of the people, the consciousness of moving forward to the truth, the beauty, the good in life and so forth. The art in his works was specific, vivid and easily penetrated the heart.

The characteristic features of the poetry of Nguyen Dinh Chieu were not due to the fact that the circumstances of his life differed from those of other poets. He lived at the same time, under the same objective conditions and in the face of the same demands of the people and the nation as contemporary writers, poets and thinkers did. The differences between him and them were only due to his subjective factors.

Nguyen Dinh Chieu was profoundly aware of the ethical qualities of the nation and always consciously preached these ethical qualities. These ethical qualities were not the ones that were conceived of by Confucianism, rather, the essence of them was love of country and the people, was Tran Hung Dao's thinking of "tapping the strength of the people" in order to establish a firm foundation for the country, was Nguyen Trai's thinking that the people are as strong as water, that is, the progress or lack of progress of the ship of state depends upon the people and was the thinking of the peasant heroes in the uprisings of the 18th Century of "protecting the people" so that the country could be built. He called them "providence" and "the ethics that make a person" and always gave concrete examples of them at each period of time. In peace time, before the French pirates arrived, they were having a sense of honor and duty, despising riches and displaying the spirit of struggling against violence to protect the interests of the people. When the French pirates invaded, they were the spirit of bravely fighting the enemy and defending the country and the spirit of responsibility to saving the common people. When the French pirates imposed their rule upon our



country, they were longing for the old country, the attitude of not cooperating with the enemy and the consciousness of searching for any occupation that could benefit the people. Within him, the country went hand in hand with the people and saving the country primarily meant saving the people.

Nguyen Dinh Chieu was aware of the noble function of culture and ideology. Literature was not something with which to amuse oneself, something through which to purchase enjoyment in accordance with the old concept "music, chess, poetry and drawing." To him, literature was a tool for protecting and building the country. His pen was always aflame with the fires of combat, always steaming with the breath of life.

Nguyen Dinh Chieu had an especially politically sensitive mind. He always attentively observed and studied the developments of his times and could; therefore, discern the essence of policies, actions and words. The imperial court ordered the partisan army to withdraw in order to achieve reconciliation with France; he knew that this was surrender, that this reconciliation was not consistent with desires of the people and could not extinguish the fight being waged by them. He reprimanded the imperial court:

"To those who would turn the reconciliation into a fight  
Vain sorrow is felt when passing through An Hai."

(Tho dieu Phan-Tong)

The imperial court sentenced Truong Dinh, Phan Tong and many other righteous men as "rebels" because they would not withdraw their troops so that the imperial court could achieve reconciliation with France, which he knew was a mistake. Not listening to the king, he praised them:

"Those who devote their lives to helping others  
Need not ever worry about the label 'rebel'."

(Vieng Truong-Dinh)

"The rebel bullet facing them  
The blades of the enemy swords held proudly in their hands."

(Tho dieu Phan-Tong)

He especially felt sorry for and admired the peasants who were familiar with only plows and hoes and who had never been trained in the use of a bow and arrow but, when the enemy arrived, without anyone waiting for anyone else, without anyone demanding conscription, they would "beat the enemy to pieces and virtually make them disappear," "beat them so badly that they rendered their weapons to pieces of tin and copper"(Van te nghĩa sĩ Cần-giuc) with only a branch of a coral tree, with only a kitchen knife.

Without possessing political sensitivity how could he promptly produce dozens of such moving poems and funeral orations? His poems and orations, which were his soul and, at the same time, the heart of the tribute paid to the partisan

soldiers who had died, inspired love of the country and the people on the part of everyone.

### Part III

Nguyen Dinh Chieu's misfortune was that he became blind when only 27 years of age. This pained him very much. He felt pain because he could not see objective reality, could not see his relatives, his village, his friends and so forth. He felt pain because he could not display his talent to govern the state and help humanity. For this reason, his pain was twice as hard to bear:

"My eyes have become dull  
Everything is far away and dark.  
Before I even try to walk, my heart gradually sinks  
My body must fight itself  
Alas, how many misfortunes will befall me!"  
(Luc Van Tien)

However, he did not become discouraged. Once, he worked at three jobs: writing prose, teaching and making medicine. He wrote prose to spread the ethics that make a person, he taught to disseminate knowledge and teach people how to survive in life and he made medicine to treat people. Writing, teaching and making medicine gave purpose to his life: living for himself and for everyone else.

He always showed himself to be a loyal and unyielding person. When the French pirates arrived, he moved away from them. He faced countless difficulties and problems as he travelled because he could not see the road, because of deprivations and because he had to live in a remote place. However, he still moved. When he was alive, his work "Luc Van Tien" was reprinted many times in enemy occupied Saigon. The French knew that he had a reputation among the people and wanted to purchase his services. He resolutely refused. When the governor of Ben Tre Province, Mi-sen Pong-song [Vietnamese phonetics], expressed the wish to return his cropland to him, he replied: "The king threw his land away, what is mine worth!" When the enemy decided to "reward the man of letters" by giving him a retirement subsidy, he replied that he had lived a full life ahead. Moreover, he also expressed his will:

"It is better in life to submit to the hangman's noose  
And set an ethical example."

"To maintain one's ethics even though blind  
Is better than to have eyesight but not honor."  
(Ngu Tieu y thuat van dap)

Although blind, he was not isolated, not cut off from the outside. To the contrary, he always maintained close relations with his students, neighbors, patients, friends and loved ones both near and far. These relations brought happiness to his life. It was within these relationships that he gained a deep understanding

of the lives of the persons around him, of their thoughts and feelings and, through these persons, he learned about man and life in society; at the same time, he realized that he had the task of consoling, encouraging and explaining the situation to them at times of difficulty. He performed this work as a teacher, a friend, a father.

When the pirates ruled our entire country, he concentrated on his work as a physician in order to treat his fellow man. Here, he empathized very much with his patients: "The pain and suffering of the people brings pain to me" (Lam thuoc) and he did everything he could to cure their illness.

"When seeing a person who is as ill as you are  
He must be treated and quickly brought back to health  
Not even a beggar  
Should be denied medicine"

(Ngu Tieu y thuat van dap)

His love for everyone was repaid. Everyone respected him, everyone trusted him. He was cared for wherever he went. When he died, white mourning turbans covered Ba Tri field.

When Dinh Chieu set a bright example in many areas of life of a soldier on the cultural and ideological front. As he stated in his eulogy to Phan Tong, "Although he is gone, he remains with us in his love," he, too, is gone but his example as a soldier still lives.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Pham Van Dong: "Nguyen Dinh Chieu, the Bright Star in the Nation's Art," (excerpt from the book: "Nguyen Dinh Chieu, An Example of Patriotism and Artistic Labor," Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi, 1973, p 24).
2. Le Duan: "Advancing Under the Glorious Banner of the Party To Win New Victories for Independence, Freedom and Socialism," Su That Publishing House, 1976, p 14.

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CSO: 4209/421

## THE QUESTION OF COORDINATED AGRO-FORESTRY PRODUCTION IN OUR COUNTRY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese Jun 82 pp 48-54

[Article by Phan Xuan Dot; passages enclosed in single slantlines published in boldface; passages enclosed in double slantlines published in italics]

[Text] The implementation of guidelines for combining agriculture with forestry is highly significant to our country when we are moving from small to large-scale socialist production. This combination is primarily designed to resolve some of the requirements for grain and food products while achieving the forestry construction tasks and targets and gradually creating a harmonious system of production which benefits both the economy and environmental protection. Combining agriculture with forestry constitutes a guideline and measure of strategic importance to the development of forestry. It is at the same time a matter that cannot be separated from a comprehensively developed agriculture.

/I. Combined agroforestry production is a correct guideline in the process of developing agriculture and forestry in our country./

Exploiting biological potentials is an essential aspect of using national resources effectively, particularly in our country where there is not much land. We should reclaim land in depth from forests and the sea and exploit all potentials in terms of weather and living things, in order to increase the production volume per unit of land, especially to increase the source of protein which is now an urgent requirement.

1. Agricultural production is inherently linked to and combined with forestry production through a //very natural process emerging from a very specific relationship of mutual support.// Thousands of years ago when peasants were reclaiming land from the forests for cultivation and animal raising, they usually spared those forest areas from which they could get game and fowl through hunting and food and other useful things. They knew how to use forests like "a guardian" of agriculture. There was a natural harmony between forests and ricefields and there were no major economic imbalances. However, since man slashed and burned forests for temporary upland fields and reclaimed land hastily over large areas, the organic relationship between forestry and agriculture within the unity of the ecological system of stabilized production has been broken. In other words, man has separated agriculture from forestry or put them in disharmony. Destroyed forests have caused soil erosion and upset the environment. This situation has not only damaged forest resources

but also prevented the development of agricultural production and caused a decrease in productivity due to depleted soil. Research on tropical ecology has asserted that //there must be a close combination of agriculture with forestry, especially in the midland, mountainous and hilly areas.// Agricultural production which is stabilized and developed along the line of intensive cultivation requires that forests be maintained and well developed so that they can fulfill their protective function of conserving soil against erosion and protecting water sources. When we talk about water conservancy--a primary factor in agriculture--we cannot help paying attention to the protection of watershed forests and riparian forests. If we want to carry out agriculture production "smoothly" throughout the country, we must necessarily build up our forest capital and a system of greenery spreading proportionally and rationally on all areas from the mountainous and midland areas to the plains and coastal areas.

2. Our small country has a large population, the per capita rate of cultivated area is low, averaging up to 1 hectare per 10 persons. In the next 5-10 years, along with intensive cultivation and multicropping, we must strive to reclaim virgin land and expand the cultivated area to 10 million hectares. Even then, the per capita rate will average only 1 hectare per 7 persons. Consequently, grain production always remains the "frontline battle" of the entire country on which the forestry and all units and localities //must capitalize positively to produce grain and other foodstuffs on 20 million hectares of forests and forest land (classified as forest-oriented land).// This is a real potential, //the problem is how to turn out more grain and food products under the best combination so as not to destroy forests and deplete soil.//

3. In general, the economic and technical conditions in our country, especially in the mountainous regions, are still underdeveloped. The habit of slashing and burning forests for upland fields still prevails in the mountainous regions. There may be many causes of this situation, but the main problem is that the tribal people's demands for food have not been resolved. By combining agriculture with forestry //we will create conditions for protecting forests, resolving the food and living problems of local people// and turning the forces which used to destroy forests into forest development forces.

It is because of our failure satisfactorily to solve the relationship of combining agricultural production with forestry production that the "dispute" over agricultural and forest land has long existed. The livelihood of forestry workers (forces of state forests and forestry cooperatives) has not been stabilized. Their grain and food supply depends completely on the state. The combination of agriculture with forestry will first of all increase our capability of balancing the demands for grain and food products on the spot. Moreover, it will create conditions for positively tapping all the potentials and strengths of land and forests to support export. By combining agriculture with forestry we point to a new direction in which //millions of workers from the lowlands// will go to build and develop the economy of the mountainous regions, thus contributing to the redistribution of the population throughout the country.

To sum up, in our country, the extensive application of procedures for combining agriculture with forestry in all the three regions (mountainous,

midland and plain) not only constitutes a measure to increase the volume of grain and food production and other products for export but also helps protect and develop forests, benefiting national defense and the protection of the environment. Such a combination is completely suitable to the characteristics of resources, climate and topography of our country.

## /II. Contents and forms of combined agroforestry production./

Combined agroforestry production is a combined production system under which the products of forests, crop cultivation and animal raising are arranged in an orderly fashion in a given space and at an appropriate time to result in as many integrated products as possible per area unit, including immediate or all other latent products. In other words, it is designed to optimally use the potentials of each ecological system, exploiting land in depth and space in height. This way, we can increase the productivity of forests, get more grain, food products and other consumer products from the same piece of land, turning each inch of land into an inch of gold. Consequently, the combination of agricultural production with forestry production can be considered //A method to use land generally,// and a form of intensive cultivation to improve soil and forests, exploit potentials in terms of land and labor, and develop the experiences and technical abilities of each region.

In a broad sense, combined agroforestry production does not mean only the production of timber, grain and food products but also the manufacture of products from industrial plants, fruit trees, special crops, medicinal plants, fishery and wildlife. It is, therefore, not a temporary measure to get out of the stalemate of grain and food products in the immediate future but a long-term production method with many prospects for covering a wide scope such as:

--Combining tree planting with the protection of forests in agricultural production.

--Combining agricultural production with animal raising and silviculture.

--Using the potentials of forests and forest land in accordance with the method of general exploitation.

The first content of such combination is to //use forests as a source to supplement// our demands for crops, animals, timber and firewood; to meet local demands for forest products, and to increase the value of revenues in addition to agricultural products. In this content, //agricultural production is considered the main business target,// using grain, food products and industrial plants as the vital source of income and forest products as a supplemental source. Nevertheless, the value of this supplemental source is sometime higher than that of the main source.

The second content is to organize the production of grain, food products and all other agricultural products in coordination with the planting, exploitation and maintenance of forests. In this respect, //forests are considered the main business target,// while coordination is effected to produce additional grain and food and other products within the limits of forests and forest-oriented land.

The third content is //the method of using all the potentials of forests, forest land// water surface and all other natural advantages to create a stable and superior ecological system which turns out many types of products of the highest general efficiency. According to this system, if a forest or a cooperative possesses resources and production and business abilities which are of some economic effectiveness, production and business operations must be organized. Yet, all the potentials in terms of land, forests and forest products must be tapped.

The VCP Central Committee's Second Plenum resolution (fourth tenure) indicated; //forestry must be closely combined with agriculture and processing industries right in each cooperative, each forest, each farm and each district and in every mountainous, midland and coastal regions.// In this connection, the combined form of agroforestry production is very fruitful and diversified. What we should do is to make compatible the natural, economic and social conditions of each region and each locality. The combination can be carried out as follows:

A. //Combination on each area of territorial division and in each production unit//

As stated above, due to the characteristics of the distribution of resources and population throughout our country, a natural network alternating forests with ricefields and forests with the population centers of different nationalities has been established. There are almost no forested areas without villages interspersed among them. As a result, the tasks of planning and zoning off areas for production and specialized cultivation (rice, industrial crops and forests...) is a relative matter while the combination of agroforestry production must be prevalent. All districts whether they are in forested mountainous areas or in the major rice delta or the major areas of industrial crops in midlands, are potential areas of agricultural and forestry production.

Although the principal mission--either agriculture or forestry--of each farm, each forest site and each cooperative has been determined, it does not mean that these installations have to perform merely their assigned mission. Based on their specific resources, they must organize their business in a comprehensive manner and must combine primarily agricultural production with forestry production. For example, a state farm is charged with managerially controlling a certain area composed of agricultural land, natural forests and land to be afforested without having to build a state forest. Evidently, this farm must coordinate its business operations to include forestry work on the area under its managerial control. Conversely, if a state forest has land on which to grow rice, grass, industrial plants, vegetables and secondary food crops, it must also engage in agricultural business. //This is the form of horizontal combination and the prevalent form being used successfully throughout the country.// Ly Nhan is a district in the low-lying area of 5th-month crops of Ha Nam Ninh Province. By combining agriculture with forestry over the past 20 years or more, it has achieved good results in the intensive cultivation of rice and secondary food and industrial crops. Moreover, it has annually reaped 25,000 cubic meters of timber, 12,000 tons of firewood and 300,000 bamboo stems. Such a production volume is equivalent to that of a mountainous province with many forests. In the past years, the Ngoi,

Lao, Bao Thang and Viet Hung state forests in Hoang Lien Son Province have used their land optimally in combination with agricultural production. They have harvested annually from 150 to 200 tons of grain and other food products to meet local demand and improve the livelihood of cadres and workers. The combination of agriculture with forestry in districts and every economic unit--state farms, state forests and cooperatives -- will get rid of the habit of monocrop cultivation, expand grain production capacity and create conditions for enriching ourselves through a correct line of business.

B. //The combination of agriculture with forestry on each area unit// is a form of vertical coordination in space or the form of growing mixed crops and intensively cultivating an entire group of forest trees and agricultural crops and animal breeds on the same piece of land. Such a combination will increase economic results and is beneficial to the growth and development of forest trees and agricultural crops. If on the hills of tea, coffee and other industrial crops we grow some companion forest trees, not only will we increase the yield of tea and coffee and protect the land, but we will also get a considerable volume of timber and firewood. If we grow some companion food and legume crops on the newly afforested land, not only will the forest trees develop better but we also will be able to harvest tons of grain per hectare. Depending on the types of crops and the ecological requirements, we can grow one, two or three crops or a long-term mixed crop in the form of stabilized combination. Under specific conditions, mixed crops do not mean only forest trees and grain crop, but can also include other farinaceous, oleaginous and special export crops which can be grown under the forest umbrella such as ginger, saffron, amomum xanthicoides [sa nhuan] and ecopa moniera [ba kisch]. If afforestation is combined with grain production, normally we will reap 1-1.5 tons of rice per hectare in the 1st year and 0.5-1 ton in subsequent years. Our country now has 10 million hectares of bare hills and depleted forests to be improved or reafforested. If this form of combination is carried out, we will get no small volume of grain. Apart from timber, natural forests can provide many other products such as farinaceous plants, vegetables, mushrooms and game. Using skills in combining protection of forests with raising grain we can annually obtain a considerable volume of grain and other foodstuffs for man and domestic animals.

C. The combined form of agroforestry production is fruitful and diversified. This is manifested by the structure and form of combination suitable to the natural, economic and social conditions of each region.

--//Nationwide,// the structure of agroforestry combination is manifested by the percentages of land area specified in plans, the degree of umbrella provided by forests and greenery carpet, and the delineation of economic agroforests areas. Depending on its natural and economic peculiarities, each country should determine the ratio of forest umbrella to the total area of its territory and the percentages of forests to be maintained and planted in each region so as to develop optimally the utility of forests to agricultural production, animal raising and other sectors. In our country, after planning and zoning has been completed, the area of forests and forest-oriented land is determined at 15.6 million hectares, accounting for nearly half of the country's natural land. Although good land in the plains must be reserved for the production of grain and other food products, every region



and locality should reckon on having a considerable proportion of forests in order to meet the preventive requirements of agriculture and the demand for forest products. The capacity of grain--especially rice--production is not the same in all localities. We should therefore depend on the soil and weather conditions to establish a rational group of grain and other food crops. Consequently, the question of //gradually changing the diet of people in various regions// and throughout the country should also be raised.

--//In districts,// the structure of agroforestry combination is manifested by the plans and production guidelines and is closely connected with forestry and the planting of industrial, grain and other food crops in the economic entirety of districts. These are forestry-agricultural districts in the mountainous regions and agroforestry districts in the midlands and plains. This structure reflects the potentials and strengths of each region and each locality and is formulated in districts and throughout the country in an objective manner. The production targets and the patterns of timber and grain products as well as the percentages of labor invested in forestry and agricultural activities reflect a rational structure balancing sectors and jobs with the resources on hand and those to be issued additionally.

--//In state-run economic units,// (forestry-agricultural corporations, state forests and state farms) the structure of agroforestry combination is manifested by the structure of resources and main and integrated products which have been set into objectives and regulations in programs and plans. The state should have plans to help localities and production units by making investment in capital construction to build ricefields and forests, and by providing other necessary facilities to develop production.

--//With regard to cooperatives, (agricultural cooperatives in plains and forestry-agricultural cooperatives in mountainous regions) after having received land and forests, they should adjust their production projects along the line of combining forestry with agriculture. They should use all land--including flooded ricefields and leached soil--to grow grain and industrial crops and to raise animals and produce grain on forest land. At the same time, they should gradually stabilize production and carry out intensive cultivation on forest land. The structure of agroforestry combination in cooperatives is manifested by the area of stabilized cultivation (ricefields, fertile land and prairie and so forth), the area of protective forests and investments in forestry business under the managerial control of cooperatives. The assignment of manpower to various sectors and jobs operated by cooperatives, the relations of economic contracts with the state-run installations and finally the volume of products and goods delivered to the state.

--//In each family,// the structure of agroforestry combinations is manifested under the prevalent form of //orchards where agroforestry production is combined.// This is a combination of upland fields and orchards to grow trees for timber and fruit and to plant grain and special crops. At present, the area of bare hills and fallow land in our country is still very large while the state's investment capability is limited. //By encouraging the people to reclaim hilly land to build orchards combining agriculture with forestry//, we will have more capacity to absorb labor, turn out many products useful to society and accelerate the speed of greening bare hills throughout the country.

The business of orchards constitutes the most effective measure to use hilly and mountainous land, labor and the people's traditional experiences in production to increase our material assets and improve our livelihood. This is also a measure to stabilize production and the livelihood of people coming from the lowlands to build new economic zones in the mountainous regions.

//This economic and technical form// of agroforestry combination manifests the guideline of combining the organizational form with the management system. It depends on natural conditions, the level of intensive cultivating and the cultivation customs of each region and each locality. The form of combination which can be considered the best of each region must be proven by the productivity of crops and animal breeds, by the high economic results achieved on each hectare and by great ecological effectiveness.

### /III. Measures to Carry Out Combined Agroforestry Production/

1. In the spirit of //concentrating the highest efforts on resolving the grain and food problem steadily, we should make a survey and establish plans for those areas on which we can produce grain and food products// and for those forests to be maintained and developed within the entirety of the agroforestry structure. This combined agroforestry production plan should be carried out nationwide and in each area and each production unit. Every district, state farm, state forest, forestry-agricultural corporation and cooperative should assess correctly the resources, especially land on which grain and food products can be produced, and land on which only forestry work can be done. On this basis, we will establish plans and initiate measures to organize production and business under specific economic and technical forms so as to turn out large quantities of grain and food products, advance toward balancing the distribution of grain, food products, timber and firewood in districts, and resolve questions of self-sufficiency in grain and foodstuffs in the state farms, state forests and forestry cooperatives. In this way, we will lessen the difficulties for the state.

#### 2. //Agroforestry production planning.//

On the basis of our surveys and programs, we should establish agricultural and forestry production plans, determine production targets and product delivery norms, and plan the production costs of all products--timber products as well as grain and food products--for every state farm, state forest and cooperative. In this connection, a state farm is charged with achieving not only the targets of grain, food products and industrial crops... but also the objectives of afforesting, maintaining, protecting and exploiting forests, if any. By the same token, a state forest is also assigned some norms for producing grain, food products and industrial crops.

Every agricultural cooperative in the plains is also assigned some specific plan norms; apart from rice and secondary food crops, they must produce annually a certain number of cubic meters of timber, a few tons of firewood and some tons of fruits in areas where agroforestry production is combined. This plan also includes norms for processing and consuming products, and the various factors which ensure balances so as to avoid the situation in which products can neither be processed nor used or consumed, resulting in waste.

3. //The policy which promotes the acceleration of combined agroforestry production// is an important factor for the immediate as well as distant future. This policy must ensure the encouragement of units, localities and workers to make full use of all the existing potentials to turn out many useful products for society. Although the mountainous regions have less rice-fields than the plains, their capacity of growing secondary food crops (manioc, corn and other farinaceous crops) is great. Moreover, there is a great capacity for the cultivation of mixed crops on forest land and under the forest umbrella. There should be a policy to promote such cultivation. With respect to those forests capable of producing grain and other foodstuffs, they must be encouraged to do so through our investment and proper pricing. Cooperatives in the midland and mountainous regions may borrow forest land to produce grain for a certain number of years before afforesting the land for the state. They will be paid like other state-run economic units. Those agricultural cooperatives doing forestry business may get some capital loans, seeds and technical assistance from the state. There should also be a policy of allocating virgin land to every household for establishing orchards and combining agricultural production with forestry production. These households will be exempted from paying agricultural taxes for a given number of years. Their products may be used by themselves or sold to the state at agreed prices.

The pattern of grain production differs from one locality to another. As a result, there should be policies to //encourage the use of secondary food crops// in diet, trade secondary food crops for rice and determine appropriate prices for those localities with little rice and abundant secondary food crops. Only by doing so can we accelerate the production of those crops and animals most suitable to the characteristics of each locality.

Implementing the method of combined agroforestry production is mainly to connect the two objectives--timber and grain and food products--within an integrated unit in a harmonious and stabilized manner.

It is impossible that a stabilized and developed agriculture is not combined and linked closely with forestry. Conversely, forests can exist and develop only when the springboard in terms of grain is well established. As a result, combining agriculture with forestry is the most effective measure to develop the forest capital and to create at the same time new abilities to step up grain production in particular and agricultural production in general.

CSO: 4209/421

## IT IS NECESSARY TO BE MORE CONCERNED WITH VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 82 pp 55-58, 77

[Article by Hong Long]

[Text] To stabilize and further improve the material and cultural lives of the people, continue to build the material and technical base of socialism and bring about a fundamental change in the state of the economy, developing and expanding vocational training for youths are important and pressing jobs.

Raising product quality, labor productivity and production efficiency are the important and extremely pressing elements; however, they depend upon the hands of the laborer, upon the occupational skills of the worker, upon how workers have been trained and educated. One of our strengths is that we have an abundant labor force. To develop upon this strength, we must reorganize labor, establish a new division of labor, expand the sectors and trades and provide everyone with an occupation. Therefore, training laborers is not only the basic element in carrying out the reproduction of the labor force for society, but is also a prerequisite to developing production.

A correct socio-economic policy always begins with concern for workers: equipping them with knowledge, skills and aptitudes and teaching them social consciousness and the noble qualities and ethics of the new worker. K. Marx wrote: "The most enlightened component of the working class also very clearly understands that the future of their class and, as a result, the future of mankind, is totally dependent upon educating the generation of workers that is now growing up."(1)

Even during the first days of the October Revolution, Lenin gave special attention to providing workers with comprehensive vocational and academic training. He said: the primary and first production force of mankind is the worker, the laborer. On 20 June 1920, Lenin signed the decree on disseminating scientific and technical knowledge to the working people, which required that every citizen from 18 to 40 years of age acquire minimum knowledge of a specific trade. The decree stated: the decisive prerequisite for the thorough victory of the revolution is raising labor productivity; the most correct and quickest way to achieve this is to widely popularize occupational knowledge, skills and technology among the broad masses.

President Ho also taught us: "To build socialism, it is first of all necessary to have socialists."(2) "For the interest of 10 years, plant a tree; for the interest of 100 years, educate a person."(3)

Deeply imbued with and creatively applying the thinking of Marxism-Leninism to the specific circumstances of Vietnam and in keeping with the Testament of President Ho, our party and state have always attached importance to training and educating the young generation. Vocational education is an important component of the ideological and cultural revolution, is an integral part of the unified national educational system and is the source of new forces for the working class. The Political Bureau resolution on educational reform pointed out: "the vocational training sector has the task of training, on an increasingly large scale, a corps of technical and professional workers and personnel that is well coordinated in terms of its sectors and consists of persons who possess political qualities and revolutionary ethics, possess proficiency in their trade, work in a disciplined, technical and highly productive manner, possess the large-scale industrial style and possess the health required by their trade, required by building and defending the socialist fatherland. In addition, the vocational training sector also has the task of coordinating with the general schools, production installations and scientific-technical management agencies to help general school students learn technology and help to disseminate scientific and technical knowledge among the working people." In the world today, vocational education is considered one of the most important factors in economic development; the element that directly creates high labor productivity and increasingly high product quality; and a very important element in the science-education-technology-production system. For this reason, in many countries, investing in vocational training is considered the same as investing in the construction of material and technical bases of the economy; increasingly large investments have been made in vocational training and it has developed at a high rate. (In the Soviet Union, under the eleventh 5-year plan, the capital invested in vocational training accounts for 1 percent of the total capital invested in economic construction, not including the capital invested in general school, middle school and college education).

At present, in our country, not everyone is fully aware of the importance of vocational training in the development of the economy and society. There are many reasons for this; however, it is first of all necessary to mention a reason of basic and decisive significance: "the various sectors and levels do not have a full understanding of the position and importance of training a corps of skilled technical workers; the vocational training sector has not been strengthened and is not truly considered to be a sector within the unified national education system that has close ties to the various economic sectors; and appropriate importance has not been attached to building the material and technical bases for vocational training schools"(Council of Ministers' resolution 109/CP dated 12 March 1981).

The Vocational Training General Department, although it is directly subordinate to the Council of Ministers and has a management apparatus, does not have the ability or authority to take the initiative in providing material, financial, organizational and legal support; it does not have a unified, nationwide organization, consequently, the effectiveness of its leadership and guidance is very greatly limited.

Actual experience has shown: wherever the party committee is concerned with vocational training, the training of workers is developed, thereby properly supporting economic construction and the development of the trades while meeting the occupational training needs of the children of the working people and, as a result, helping to stabilize social order. The vocational training movements in Ha Nam Ninh, Haiphong, Thanh Hoa and Ho Chi Minh City are specific proof of this. Under the direct leadership of the provincial party committee, the municipal party committee and the people's committee of the various provinces and municipalities, vocational training schools and classes have been organized in many precincts, districts and cities under the guideline of coordinating investment capital of the state, investment capital of the collective and contributions by the people. Each year, the provinces and municipalities train tens of thousands of professional and service workers and personnel for cooperatives and the handicraft trades and economic sectors within the locality. This is a new factor, one which we must summarize, gain experience concerning and develop upon. Meanwhile, there are also more than a few localities, ministries and sectors, because they only emphasize the completion of production plans, that have given light attention to vocational training and there are even some places that have used the capital and equipment allocated for training in production instead of allocating some of the newest equipment in production for training.(!)

Deserving of attention is the fact that we have displayed numerous shortcomings in the formulation of training plans for many years. We only formulate industrial production labor plans for the immediate future and labor plans for the state-operated forces but do not take into consideration the reserve labor force for the future or for the collective sector; attention has not been given to a plan for distributing social labor by economic zone and territory. This shortcoming is most clearly evident in the lack of balance in vocational training and in the percentages of technical cadres and workers who are trained, in general. Many scientists in the world have computed that in order to insure well coordinated economic development, there must be a reasonable ratio among engineers, middle level cadres and manual workers during each period of the scientific-technological revolution and economic development. If the economy is in the handicraft, semi-mechanized and mechanized stage, as is the case in our country at this time, a reasonable training ratio would be: one engineer-four middle level technical personnel-60 skilled manual workers-20 manual workers who possess a low skill level-15 support laborers. That is, for every five cadres who have a middle school and college education, there must be 95 manual workers of various types. This is a ratio that is in the nature of a law. However, in actuality, the training ratio in our country at this time is completely different. Below are figures on the ratio of college, middle school and vocational school students in our country during the 1980-1981 school year: 57,760 persons were enrolled at middle schools, academies and colleges while 61,211 persons were enrolled at vocational schools. Therefore, the ratio is roughly 1/1. This unreasonable ratio has existed for many years in our country. This is why many ministries and sectors have only a few less direct production workers and highly skilled workers (grades 6 and 7) than they do engineers and persons who hold M.A. or M.S. degrees. To be reasonable, the development of education in every country must be consistent with the level and

scale of economic development and the scientific-technological revolution within that country. The best practice is for everyone to learn a trade after completing basic general school before advancing to middle school or college. The vocational schools are the places that can make the best contribution to the popularization of middle school education, occupational counselling and the popularization of occupations.

There are also some persons who worry about whether or not it is proper to provide vocational training at a time when our economy is encountering numerous difficulties, there are shortages of raw materials and supplies, workers do not have ample work and graduates cannot be provided jobs. There are even some persons who maintain that developing vocational training will only place an additional burden on the state!?

It is true that our economy is still underdeveloped because of small-scale production and more than 30 years of war. It is also true that there are shortages of raw materials and supplies and production is encountering numerous difficulties, which affect the development of vocational training to some extent. However, it must be realized that these shortages of raw materials and supplies are not permanent; moreover, they do not occur at all places, at all times and within all production sectors. Therefore, immediate difficulties cannot be taken by us as an excuse for stopping vocational education. Rather, the more difficulties we encounter, the more we must give thought to the future; our country surely must develop and overcome its present difficulties. The decisive factor in achieving rapid development is workers who possess production skills and understand their occupation. The Political Bureau resolution on the science and technology policy confirmed: the greater the difficulties being faced by the economy become and the lower the level of technological development of production is, the more importance we must attach to making investments in training technical cadres and workers. This is a measure that will help to raise social labor productivity and completely resolve the difficulties encountered in production now and in the future as well.

Thinking about the future, about the occupations of the young generation is our responsibility to history, to the working class and laboring people. In order to overcome the present acute difficulties we face, we have no other choice but to make the best possible use of our three strengths, namely, our labor, arable land and natural resources, and make the best possible use of existing material and technical bases. Making the best possible use of labor means that we must prepare and equip the laborer with an occupation. To develop a trade sector, it is necessary to know the trade. It is projected that by the start of 1985, the social labor force in our country will number about 30 million persons, as many as 6 million of whom will require occupational training and a job. At present, of the more than 25 million workers in our country, only about 1.2 million are manual workers and professional personnel. This does not include the 500,000 to 700,000 students who graduate from basic general schools and middle schools each year but do not continue their education and are not prepared with an occupation before they

enter the labor force. This is a very large socio-economic problem that must be resolved. Are not the negative phenomena we face today partially the result of this problem? On the other hand, only about 50 percent of these 1.2 million manual workers and professional personnel have received training that can be called relatively systematic training. Is this not the reason for our low labor productivity, poor product quality, frequent machine and equipment breakdowns and the failure to make full use of capacity? This is not to mention the fact that we must annually replace tens of thousands of manual workers who become old and frail and reach retirement age (the natural attrition is 7-10 percent).

In keeping with the spirit of the resolution of the 6th Plenum of the 4th Party Central Committee on the development of local industry and the consumer goods industry, the manual worker training needs of some sectors will continue to rise. The construction of new economic zones and the development of the district level into a base with an agro-industrial, agro-forestry-industrial or agro-fishing-industrial structure require even more that we train a well coordinated corps of technical and professional workers and personnel who possess certain knowledge of their occupation, even within the collective economic sector. According to initial calculations, Thanh Oai District in Ha Son Binh Province must train 4,700 manual workers of various types in the 2 years 1979 and 1980 [as published]. Our entire country has more than 400 districts, consequently, the need to train manual workers and professional personnel for the collective economic sector will be very large. This does not include the long-term training plan for the years ahead, when our economy must develop strongly; a number of large projects have now gone into production but without adequate technical workers.

In the next 5 to 10 years, the state must make appropriate investments in building material-technical bases for vocational schools in order to insure that the important schools and key vocational schools of the national economy are completely constructed and equipped with a view toward training and educating a corps of key, skilled manual workers for the various production sectors. On the other hand, it is necessary to accelerate the establishment of short-term vocational classes to promptly support the requirements of developing agriculture, the handicraft trades, consumer goods production and the production of export goods. Attention must be given to intensifying trade training in the key agricultural areas and in those production sectors capable of absorbing a large labor force. There must be better coordination between the state and the people in the development of vocational training.

The organization and management of the vocational training sector must be unified from the central to the local levels. We should rapidly establish specialized education committees in the provinces and municipalities to help the provincial and municipal people's committees lead and guide specialized education.

In summary, under present conditions, although the economy is encountering difficulties, developing vocational training is still a necessary and pressing



requirement because training manual workers is not only an economic issue, but a very large and long-range socio-political issue as well.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx and F. Engels, V.I. Lenin and J.V. Stalin: "On Youth," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1978, p 34.
2. Ho Chi Minh: "On Party Building," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 113.
3. Ho Chi Minh: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume II, p 91.

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CSO: 4209/421

## STUDY COLUMN: THE PARTY'S ECONOMIC LEADERSHIP

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 82 pp 59-66

[Article by Dong Thao; capitalized passages denote italics as published]

[Text] After the working class and laboring people have seized state power, the scope of the party's leadership becomes very extensive, encompassing the political, economic, cultural, military, diplomatic and other fields. In the stage of socialist construction, however, economic leadership remains the focus of all party activities. This is because the economy is the basis of politics and the foundations of the efforts to resolve the problems concerning the people's life, to strengthen national defense and to consolidate and develop the socialist system.

Whether the economy of a country develops rapidly or slowly, successfully or unsatisfactorily is a problem closely related to the party's leadership.

### I

The party leads the economy but does not directly manage it. Economic construction and development is a cause of the masses. For this reason, to lead the economy, it is important that the party satisfactorily implement the system of THE PARTY PROVIDING LEADERSHIP, THE PEOPLE EXERCISING MASTERY, AND THE STATE TAKING CARE OF MANAGERIAL WORK.

To exercise economic leadership, the party should study and decide on a general revolutionary line, a line for economic development, a socioeconomic development strategy, 5-year and annual economic development plans, national economic policies, economic management systems, policies regarding economic management reforms.... Of these factors, the party's line is the most decisive. Depending on the actual situation in each stage, the party may decide to adopt a number of specific strategies, such as the grain strategy, the raw materials strategy, the energy strategy.... It may also advocate developing a number of important economic sectors such as agriculture, heavy industry, light industry, communications, transportation, capital construction, home trade, foreign trade, and so forth.

The national economy operates according to objective economic laws. Therefore, the party must hold fast to these laws. At the same time, it must take into account the country's characteristics so as to determine the correct economic lines and policies. We must fully understand the leading role of the basic socialist economic law in the system of socialist economic laws, because it reflects most eminently the essence and objective of the socialist production system, determines the developmental trend of social production and governs the application of other economic laws. Holding fast to this law means that in all of our economic activities, we must aim to step up production, attach utmost importance to economic efficiency, reduce production costs to the minimum and make the most profits so as to meet more satisfactorily all the needs of society.

A number of other laws in the system of socialist economic laws also play a very important role. The law of developing the national economy in a planned and balanced manner calls for the institution of a planning system suitable for each state so as to ensure a rapid pace of development for the national economy, to mobilize all potentials and to promote production, thereby responding to the demands of society. In light of our country's present conditions, which is characterized by the still prevalent small-scale production and the existence of many economic elements, the most suitable planning system would be a system combining planning with the use of market relations, which associates the concentration of planning work at the central level with the promotion of the role of the localities and basic units in planning, and which coordinates planning with economic accounting and socialist business. At a time when our social labor productivity is still too low, our economic system is still irrational, and our economic system is still characterized by bureaucratic practices and subsidization, the law of constant increase in labor productivity requires that the economy be urgently reorganized, the economic management system be updated and, simultaneously, utmost importance be attached to science and technology to save manpower and increase labor productivity. To apply satisfactorily the law of distribution according to labor, we must adopt a rational policy regarding accumulation and consumption, and urgently study ways to reform prices and wages so as to associate harmoniously the three economic interests (those of the entire society, of collectives, and of individual workers) and to encourage all people to zealously engage in productive labor....

Aside from the system of socialist economic laws, a number of other economic laws such as the law of value, and so forth, still have an effect on our country's economy. We should closely combine the transformation of old production relations and the building of new socialist production relations with the development of productive forces to ensure that production relations are always compatible with the productive forces, thereby stimulating the development of production. We should combine skillful application of the law of planned and balanced development with the law of value in order to manage the socialist economy. Recent realities in our country as well as the experiences of many fraternal countries have showed that the tendency to belittle or disregard the law of value is erroneous. Practice has also proved that it is utterly wrong to allow state-operated production and business establishments to carry on operations at any cost, thus compelling the state to perpetually compensate for their losses, which prevents the economy from developing.

Along with holding fast to the economic laws, the party should correctly apply the two basic principles of economic leadership, namely unifying political leadership with economic leadership and democratic centralism. Unifying politics with economy means that the party must ensure its absolute leadership in the economic field, adopt correct political viewpoints in resolving economic problems, closely coordinate political and ideological education with economic work, and gear all economic activities to supporting political tasks. In the present conditions, correctly and effectively applying the principle of democratic centralism means to completely abolish bureaucratic centralism and, simultaneously, to overcome the phenomenon of dispersion to achieve appropriate centralization and to vigorously carry out decentralization so as to bring into play the spirit of collective mastery and the boundless creative power of localities, basic units and the masses in economic building and management.

To exercise economic leadership, apart from holding fast to the various economic laws, the party must have strong ties with the masses, always follow closely the status of production, the people's life and developments in the mass movement, be responsive to the economic life, and promptly discover the new, support the right and rectify the wrong. The party should build and implement the system of THE WORKING PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST COLLECTIVE MASTERY IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD. It must link the masses' responsibilities with their right to mastery and simultaneously enhance their sense of and capacity for mastery, thereby enabling the masses to clearly see that they truly are the masters in reality.

The essence of the masses' collective mastery in the economic field and the ways for the various mass organizations, especially the trade unions, to participate in economic management, should be concretized and institutionalized. Measures must be adopted to prevent and deal with acts violating the masses' collective mastery in the economic field.

Party cadres and members, especially in the basic units, must show eagerness and behave in an exemplary manner in front of the masses. They must listen to the masses' suggestions and promptly respond to their legitimate demands and aspirations. Those party cadres and members who have committed serious errors and have lost the trust of the masses should be dealt with, replaced and expelled from the party.

The mass organizations, which serve as a link between the party and the masses, should update their work style, do away with bureaucratic operational methods and guard against losing contact with the masses. They must restore the party's tradition of mass motivation, maintain close relations with the masses and enlighten and convert each person and each family, thereby enabling the masses to clearly understand and satisfactorily implement various economic policies of the party and the state.

The party exercises economic leadership through the state, and the state is an instrument for the working people to implement their collective mastery in the economic field. For this reason, the party should apply itself to BUILDING THE STATE and strengthening the economic management apparatus. For its part, the state should simultaneously exert its right to administrative management and implement business management methods in the economic field. We should overcome the position of the party undertaking the state's work. At the same time, we must intensify control over state organs and economic organizations in implementing the party's policies and resolutions regarding economic affairs.

The party must see to it that the National Assembly and people's councils exercise their powers in making decisions on important economic problems of the entire country and each locality, and in supervising the economic activities of the administrative organs at all levels. We should stress that the functions of the Council of Ministers and its Standing Committee are to concretize the party's line, elaborate state plans and organize their implementation; to decide on general policies and systems; to guide the coordination of activities among various sectors and echelons; and to control and supervise the implementation of these policies and systems by the various ministries and local people's committees.

We must pay attention to strengthening the organs for research into economic strategies, economic management and economic information, and production and business organizations, especially the basic units. On the basis of organizing production association, we should gradually streamline the ministries responsible for economic management and improve the structure of various ministries by abolishing bureaus, reducing the number of departments, cutting down the number of cadres serving as deputy chiefs, and implementing the system of one-man leadership. We must strengthen the associations of interbranch handicraft cooperatives at the central and other levels, as their important role deserves, and define more clearly the functions of these organs in economic management and economic relations with foreign countries.

We should also improve and strengthen the local economic management apparatuses by streamlining and suiting them to the volume of work in their localities. We should reduce the number of municipal and provincial government services since the existence of a ministry at the central level does not necessarily mean that a related service must be set up at the municipal or provincial level. The strengthening of the district-level apparatus should be carried out in conjunction with the efforts to streamline the apparatus and to improve the leadership at the provincial level.

We must study the promulgation of practical policies to streamline the staff of the administrative apparatus. For example, we can freeze the wage funds of an organ for a period of time. If the organ concerned can reduce its staff but still manages to fulfill its tasks, its wage funds will not be sliced. We should continue to pay the redundant workforce of various organs and enterprises for a certain period of time to allow them to take the initiative in reorganizing their staff in a more rational manner. If conditions permit, management and administrative organs and institutes for scientific research should shift to operating according to the system of economic accounting.

We must strengthen the economic legal system and step up research on and the promulgation of economic legislation. We must promptly examine and revise irrational and outmoded systems, regulations and procedures which cause trouble and inconvenience in economic management. We must satisfactorily propagandize and explain laws and develop a lifestyle and workstyle in accordance with the law. The inspection, economic arbitration, control and judicial organs should intensify their economic inspection activities so as to promptly expose and judiciously try all breaches of economic laws and contracts.

The state should take firm measures in its struggle against negative practices and severely punish cadres and personnel who take advantage of their positions and powers to commit unlawful acts. It should resolutely punish hoodlums, embezzlers, bribe-takers, speculators and smugglers, and ensure political security and public order and safety, thereby enabling the masses to apply themselves to production and work with confidence.

Cadres decide everything. Therefore, to exercise economic leadership, the party should firmly control and constantly improve cadre work. It should evaluate and select cadres on the basis of the results of their work and their work plans. It should appoint and promote cadres according to their sectors, professions and capacity, in the right place and at the right time. It should pay attention to promoting local and specialized cadres. In selecting and appointing cadres in charge of various sectors and economic organizations, aside from the quality requirement, the party should also attach importance to their capacity for organizational and managerial work and refrain from playing undue attention to their technical knowledge and academic titles.

At present, it is an urgent and important task to strengthen at all costs the contingent of managers in various production and business establishments, enterprise associations, corporations, and districts. This is aimed at providing each of these units with a team of cadres capable of abolishing bureaucratism and subsidization and implementing the socialist business system.

Long-term programs and plans should be adopted for the training of cadres, whose composition and quality must be ensured. In the immediate future, importance must be attached to the training of production and business managers, administrative and economic managers, and other professional cadres. Practical plans should be formulated to build a contingent of reserve cadres. All incumbent cadres, especially those serving as heads of organs or units, should be entrusted with well-defined responsibilities for the training of reserve cadres. Cadres slated for various positions, especially the key ones, should undergo a necessary probationary period.

A policy should be adopted to make it mandatory for newly graduated cadres to work in basic units for a certain period of time. Permission to transfer should be granted to those cadres from the upper level who wish to serve in a basic unit, and to those in administrative organs who wish to be reassigned to a production unit or to go back to their former sectors or professions so as to work and live near their spouses -- if certain units are ready to accept them.

The assignment and management of cadres should be revised by closely combining work management with personnel management and according more power to all sectors, levels and basic units in cadre management. Regulations concerning cadre work must be scrupulously implemented. Collective democracy must truly be really ensured in the selection and assignment of cadres and formalism, arbitrariness and unprincipled practices in this task must be opposed.

All party committee echelons and heads of organs and units must personally take charge of cadre work and must devote their efforts to meeting, discovering, selecting and training cadres. The staff system of cadre work must be strengthened and its quality must be improved; low-quality, conservative, narrow-minded or prejudiced people should not be allowed to conduct cadre management.

To carry out these functions satisfactorily, it is important to develop a scientific, practical and specific work system and work style and to oppose conservatism, formalism, subjectivism and precipitancy. Words must be matched by deeds. Work must be done in an organized and principled manner; arbitrariness must be opposed. A system concerning the issuance and implementation of decisions should be formulated and promulgated at an early date. We must resolutely refrain from issuing decisions when satisfactory preparation has not been made and necessary procedures have not yet been performed. We must pay attention to organizing information work satisfactorily and promoting democracy in the process of preparing for the issuance of a decision. Once a decision has been issued, we must devise work programs and plans to implement it and must simultaneously intensify control of and uphold discipline in the implementation of our decision. We must improve the quality of conference, during which we must conduct discussions in a truly democratic spirit and draw unequivocal conclusions.

## II

To exercise economic leadership in all respects -- from deciding on lines and policies and organizing managerial work to assigning cadres and controlling all activities of the state apparatus in the economic field -- the party may use many staff organs, including the state's economic organs. But it still needs an "economic general staff" of its own composed of its economic departments and sections.

In preparing for the issuance of a decision, the party may use various state organs. However, it is not advisable for the party to rely solely on these organs. It needs the assistance and advice of another organ in tackling, studying and considering a problem before it discusses the decision to be taken. Moreover, there are economic problems concerning many sectors and which the party committee echelons cannot turn over exclusively to any particular sector for study. Instead, they must assign the task of organizing the study of such problems to the various economic departments of the party. Only in this way can the forces of all sectors be mobilized and the intellect of many economic and technical cadres be tapped to resolve these problems. Besides, while the use of state organs to assist the party in its research work does have an advantage in that it helps the latter maintain close contact with reality, this practice involves a drawback due to the fact that these state organs often are so busy with their routine managerial work that they hardly have enough time to conduct a penetrating and serious study of the problems turned over to them. For this reason, there ought to be two sets of organs -- party organs and state organs. Only if these organs work together and complement each other can their research efforts yield good results.

With regard to the cadre problem, when the number of economic cadres is small, the party committee echelons may rely on the organization sections of the party committee echelons to manage these cadres. However, when their number becomes too large and the various economic and technical sectors have become more developed, the management of cadres should be decentralized and the party committee echelons should rely on their economic sections to manage economic cadres while their organization sections occupy themselves primarily with general managerial work. Moreover, only by relying on their economic sections to manage economic cadres can the party committee echelons implement the principles of work management and personnel management, thereby keeping their cadres work right on target.

Concerning control work, the party committee echelons cannot rely on state organs to carry out this task, because, in principle, control organs must be separated from management organs. The reason for this is that one cannot play ball and be the referee at the same time. Of course, state organs also perform control duties, but this control centers on specific matters whereas the party's control work focuses mainly on the implementation of lines and policies. In this task, the party committee echelons also cannot rely on the party's control sections, which are exclusively responsible for controlling the implementation of democracy and discipline within the party. The party committee echelons need their own economic sections to help in exercising economic control.

Still, we have yet to mention party and ideological work in various sectors and economic establishments. Here the party also needs an economic section to assist it in performing its supervisory and control duties in order to combine party building with economic development and ensure the party's leadership in all economic sectors.

Some people feel that in many places the party has successfully exercised its economic leadership for some time and has encountered no obstacles despite the absence of an economic section. Facts, however, tell a different story. We all know that the economic line laid down by the third party congress has been amended and perfected by the fourth party congress. In implementing this line, our economy has scored undeniable achievements. Generally speaking, however, the economic situation throughout the country, as well as in each locality, is developing slowly and imbalances and bottlenecks still persist. This situation stems from many causes. However, as far as leadership is concerned, an important cause was the absence of economic sections in the party committee echelons. If such sections had existed, then the cause would have been our failure to strengthen them sufficiently to assist the party committee echelons in studying and laying down specific positions and policies, satisfactorily managing economic cadres and controlling the implementation of the party's economic positions and policies.

Some are also of the opinion that economic sections are needed only at the central level because this level is responsible for laying down lines and policies. They feel that in the localities, which have only a executive function, such sections are not needed, at least for the time being. This line of thinking is wrong. Naturally, economic leadership in the localities differs from that of the central level in its scope. In principle, however, wherever the party committee echelons exercise economic leadership, they need a staff organ for economic affairs. The fact is that every locality has to study and concretize the economic line, positions and policies laid down by the central level so as to implement them in its area. It also has to assign cadres to economic work, control the implementation of the economic line, and so forth.

It should be added that party committees at various echelons are elected for a fixed period. Their composition, therefore, may change and some of their members may be entrusted with economic affairs in one term and with other tasks or not be reelected at all in the next. For this reason, if the party committee echelons do not have the assistance of the economic sections -- which are stable specialized organs capable of understanding the development processes of the economic situation and accumulating economic knowledge and experience -- they can in no way satisfactorily exercise economic leadership.

Therefore, the existence of the economic sections as well as the other specialized sections of the party is an objective necessity directly related to the existence of the party committee echelons.

Because of this necessity, the party should organize and strengthen economic sections. Depending on the specific needs of each locality and each period of time, the party may set up one, two or several economic sections, the staff of which should be compact, small and of good quality. Cadres of these economic sections must have good revolutionary qualities and a good understanding of the party's line and policies. At the same time they must be experienced in managerial work, well versed in cadre work and equipped with economic and technical knowledge. Just like the propaganda-training and organization sections, the economic sections are specialized organs of the party committee echelons. Therefore, the party committee echelons should appoint party committee-level cadres to take exclusive charge of these sections and should not let these comrades assume simultaneous administrative duties and vice versa.

Concerning the duties of the economic sections, a directive of the party Central Committee Secretariat has clearly pointed out that we must, first, follow the research process or organize research to help the central level or party committee echelons prepare for the issuance of economic decisions; second, help all sectors and levels acquire a thorough understanding of various decisions and follow through and control their implementation; third, assist the central level or party committee echelons in managing cadres in various economy sectors according to specific regulations; and, fourth, follow party work in various economic sectors. For a long time now, however, there have been conflicting views on this matter. Some people have given emphasis to the research duty, on the grounds that the party still needs many concrete positions and policies. Some have underlined the control duty for the reason that many decisions have not yet been implemented. Others have preferred to consider cadre work as the foremost task, due to the fact that cadres decide everything.

All of these opinions are right in some respects. Basically, however, we should understand that each duty has its own importance and we should not regard one as being more important than the others. Mentioning the research duty first does not mean that it is more important than the control duty. It means, rather, that to exercise leadership the party must do research work first to lay down lines and policies. Control and implementation then follow. On the other hand, it is because cadre work involves both research and control activities. Moreover, the three duties are closely related as far as their substance and methods are concerned. With regard to the former, after doing research and laying down a position or policy, we must follow through and control its implementation. Through this control effort we shall discover new problems which we must study in order to emend our position or policy. Concerning the method, we must conduct surveys and carry out control work when we study a problem. When we examine a problem, we must do research and suggest solutions.

Concerning research work, three kinds of problems may be the objects of this activity. Specific problems such as the direction of a sector's development or specific policies and measures should be the objects of state organs' research efforts, while the party's economic sections merely contribute suggestions. With regard to economic problems related to several sectors or which cannot be turned over exclusively to any state organ for resolution, the party Central Committee and its lower committee echelons may entrust an economic section with the main responsibilities for organizing research on these problems with the participation of other sectors concerned.



As for the major and more important problems, such as making preparations for party congresses at various levels, the Central Committee and lower party committee echelons shall organize subcommittees for research under the charge of key comrade leaders.

Concerning control work the best way is for the economic sections to constantly follow and supervise the activities of various economic sectors, seek out and promote positive elements and promptly detect and rectify erroneous practices instead of allowing errors to be committed first and organizing inspection and dealing with them afterward. In following the work of the economic sectors, if the party committee echelons see that a certain problem needs checking, they may, depending on the importance of the problem and its ramifications, assign the checking task to various economic sections or set up provisional inspection teams under the economic sections to look into the problem with the participation of the sectors concerned.

The aim of control work is to keep abreast of the situation, discover problems, rectify shortcomings and change the situation. Therefore, when carrying out control work we must correctly assess the situation; identify strengths and weaknesses; objectively analyze their causes; determine responsibility; and devise measures to overcome them. The important thing is that once control work has been completed, we must follow up and supervise the implementation of the suggestions of the control organ to see which suggestions have been heeded and which have not. In the latter case, we must continue our efforts to resolve the problem.

Cadre work involves many different tasks ranging from research and control to cadre management. In carrying out this work, there must be a clear-cut division of labor and cooperation between the organization and economic sections of the party committee echelons. The organization section is primarily responsible for conducting research and assisting the party committee echelons in laying down lines and policies regarding cadres. The economic section will only contribute suggestions. The economic section is responsible for controlling the implementation of cadre policies and cadre management in various economic sectors. For its part, the organization section will contribute suggestions and coordinate general work.

CSO: 4209/421

## UNCLE HO AND THE CONGRESS OF TOURS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 82 pp 67-70

[Article by Nguyen Thanh]

[Text] The decision by the 18th Congress of the French Socialist Party held in Tours to join the 3rd International was an historic milestone that marked a turning point in the struggle of the working class and laboring people of France; at the same time, it was an event of important significance in the history of the struggle of the working class and people of Vietnam, whose vanguard warrior, Uncle Ho, participated in the congress and voted to endorse joining the 3rd International, thereby closely linking the destiny of his nation to the International founded and led by Lenin.

Ever since then, we have lacked materials on this subject, consequently, our knowledge of Uncle Ho's activities at the Congress of Tours has been very meager. Recently, there have been many books published in France about the Congress of Tours, especially books and journals by researchers within the French Communist Party; in particular, the Social Publishing House of the French Communist Party gathered, edited and republished the preparatory documents for the congress and the entire text of the proceedings of the congress, thereby providing us with additional knowledge concerning the activities of Uncle Ho related to this historic event.

The French Socialist Party had 96 local party organizations similar to provincial level organizations, of which Bac Ky was the party organization with the fewest members: 20 persons. Uncle Ho was a member of the Bac Ky party organization.

In June, 1920, the 3rd International Committee of the French Socialist Party, which consisted of four persons Ro-xme [Vietnamese phonetics], Lefevre, Lo-po-ti and Vec-git [Vietnamese phonetics], and two envoys from the socialist party, Cachin and Frossard, met with Lenin in Moscow; then, Cachin and Frossard attended the 2nd Congress of the Communist International as observers, after which they returned to France to conduct activities. Also during that period of time L'HUMANITE Newspaper began to translate and print Lenin's "Thesis on the

National and Colonial Questions." These events caused the new tide of revolutionary thinking in France to develop strongly. Therefore, it can be said that the last half of 1920 was a period of strong vitality in the political activities in France. Meetings, forums and debates concerning the revolutionary line of France were held everywhere. Preparations for convening the national congress of the party in order to decide this line were carried out very urgently. As of 30 September 1920, the French Socialist Party had 178,372 members. Various political groups were formed and published their political viewpoints and activity programs in L'HUMANITE Newspaper: "The 3rd International Committee and Cachin-Frossard" bore 294 signatures (published on 3 November 1920); "The International Liaison Restoration Committee" bore 204 signatures (published on 6 November 1920); "The International Federation" group of Blume and Paoli bore 158 signatures (published on 11 November 1920), etc.

Uncle Ho and the members of the socialist party who were Vietnamese did not sign any faction's program, rather, they continued to study the situation and observe the attitudes and activities of the various factions in order to correctly select the course for their nation.

On 25 December 1920, the 18th Congress of the French Socialist Party opened in Tours, some 237 kilometers southeast of Paris. Uncle Ho was the only Vietnamese there, was one of 370 delegates(1) and was one of the delegates from the French socialist party organizations in the colonies, such as Algeria, Constantine, Oran, Tunisia and Bac Ky.(2) Deserving of attention is the fact that all of the delegates from the French colonies were French, such as Ri-bang [Vietnamese phonetics] and Blume from Algeria, Frossard from Constantine, Ray-no and Xon-va-rin [Vietnamese phonetics] from Oran and Ki-ni-ong [Vietnamese phonetics] and Frossard from Tunisia; the delegate from Bac Ky, Nguyen Ai Quoc, was a colonial subject. Uncle Ho, who was 30 years of age then, was in the second stratum of youths at the congress, who constituted 15.7 percent of the total number of delegates. Uncle Ho worked as a self-employed photographer; being self-employed, he was included among 9.4 percent of the total number of congress delegates who were also self-employed.

Throughout the morning session and during a portion of the afternoon session of 25 December, the delegates only debated the agenda. In the end, the delegates basically overturned the proposal of the preparatory committee and decided to make the issue of joining the 3rd International or remaining in the 2nd International the main topic of the agenda. After the agenda was decided, the localities, in alphabetical order, expressed their opinions concerning their issues for a portion of the 26 December afternoon session. Then, the debate on joining the International began.

Presiding over the 26 December afternoon session was E-min Gut-do [Vietnamese phonetics].(3) The two persons assisting the chair were Merengue and Abram. After Pu-do-la [Vietnamese phonetics], the delegate from I-lo [Vietnamese

phonetics] and Vi-le-no [Vietnamese phonetics] completed their speeches, the chair said: "Indochina may speak." Uncle Ho arose and spoke. The entirety of his speech, which he delivered without a text, was recorded in the proceedings; since then, we have translated it into Vietnamese and published it many times. Here, we would like to supplement a number of points concerning Uncle Ho's speech. As he was speaking, someone interrupted him. All previous translations read as follows: "A rightist delegate expressed an opposing opinion..."

The original text of the transcript records the opposing opinion expressed by this right-wing delegate as follows: "A delegate: with comrade Enver Pacha?..."(4)

Who was Enver Pacha? And, what did this delegate mean?

Enver Pacha (1882-1922), who was the commander of the Turkish army in the Caucasus in 1914 and defended the Dardanelles in 1915 and 1916, wanted to place the Turks in Central Asia and the Ottoman under his command. Immediately after the victory of the Russian October Revolution, Enver Pacha commanded the Turkish army in the Caucasus in an attack on Ba-cu [Vietnamese phonetics]; however, he was defeated by the revolutionary armed forces and forced to withdraw. He frequently went to Moscow to agitate among the Bolsheviks who were Turks, trying to convince them to take the nationalist stand and oppose the working class stand and proletarian internationalism. When the soviet government was established in Tuyec-ke-xtan [Vietnamese phonetics] in October, 1921, Enver Pacha commanded the opposition army and was killed by the Red Army in a battle.

The statement "with Comrade Enver Pacha?..." meant: the "delegate from Indochina" who wants to appeal to and rally the Indochinese in order to oppose the reactionary French government will be killed by the government and army of France just as the Red Army killed Enver Pacha! The two totally different events were stupidly compared by a member of the socialist party on the basis of a reactionary political viewpoint. Uncle Ho immediately warned him: "Be quiet, delegate!"; and was loudly applauded by the congress.

After Uncle Ho had finished speaking and the chair had reached a conclusion, two delegates, Longuet and Vaillant-Courtourier, expressed opinions concerning matters related to Uncle Ho's speech. Longuet spoke about his defense of the Vietnamese in the parliamentary forum. Vaillant-Courtourier developed upon Longuet's statements: "I must thank Longuet for what he has done in support of the Vietnamese. The things that we appeal for today are not merely actions on the part of delegates, but also on the part of the entire congress in support of the oppressed peoples."

At its fourth evening session on 29 December 1920, which began at 2100 hours and ended at 0245 hours on the morning of 30 December 1920, the congress voted on whether or not to join the 3rd International. The vote was not conducted on the basis of one vote per congress delegate, rather, each delegates was allowed to cast the number of votes committed to him by the members of his party organization. The result was: 3,252 votes for joining the 3rd International, 3,208 of which were cast by the Cachin-Frossard faction(5) and 44 of which were cast by the He-no

[Vietnamese phonetics] group(6); 1,082 votes against joining, 1,022 of which were cast by the Longuet-Paul Pho-ro [Vietnamese phonetics] faction and 60 of which were cast by the Dret-xo-ma-no [Vietnamese phonetics] faction; 397 delegates abstained. The seven Frenchmen who were delegates from four colonial party organizations cast 50 votes, including the votes committed to them, 44, 88 percent, for joining the 3rd International and 6 against. Oran's two delegates cast 7 votes, all of them for joining the 3rd International. Uncle Ho, who had 1 vote, endorsed joining the 3rd International; thereby concluding the first stage, which began in July, 1920, of his long, very brilliant and extremely glorious revolutionary fight filled with hardships and difficulties.

The period from July to December 1920 brought about a fundamental change in the thinking, politics and organization of Uncle Ho, a change from a patriot to a fighter of the Communist International.

The Congress of Tours was called by one delegate the communist congress but it was not a congress to found a communist party or change the name of the socialist party to the communist party because the congress only decided the question of which international to join. At the final session, Vaillant-Courtourier said: "Dear comrades, here is the declaration that you entrusted to me to draft in the name of the socialist party..."(?)

According to Jean Louis Robert in "New Materials on the Origin of the French Communist Party"(8), the name communist party was adopted by a majority vote a few months after the Congress of Tours. In actuality, however, the party possessed the ideology, politics and organization of a communist party at the congress even though its name was not changed until after the congress of Tours.

Beginning as an ordinary member of the French Socialist Party, having received the attention of widespread public opinion through the Congress of Tours and determined to follow the path of the great Lenin, Uncle Ho became one of the founders of the French Communist Party, the founder of the Vietnam Communist Party, the father of the new, independent and socialist Vietnam, an outstanding fighter of the international communist and worker movement and the symbol of the national liberation movement in the 20th Century.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. All previous documents have usually stated that there were 285 delegates. On page 30, Jean Batiste Mac-xen-lo-xi's [Vietnamese phonetics] book "The Congress of Tours" states that there were 282 delegates from 89 party organizations, not including six party organizations that were not introduced. The book "The Congress of Tours" edited and published by the Social Publishing House in 1980 states, on page 77, that there were 370 delegates.
2. Martinique, which was also a French colony, had 200 party members in 1920 but had no delegates attending the congress.

3. E-min Gut-do [Vietnamese phonetics] (1870-1941) was a member of the Standing Committee of the Socialist Party who participated in the congress and voted against joining the 3rd International.
4. The original French version was: "Un delegue: avec le camarade Enver Pacha?..."
5. Frossard (1889-1946) was once general secretary of the Communist Party but later left the Communist Party and rejoined the Socialist Party in 1927; in 1935, he left the Socialist Party and frequently served as minister in the French reactionary government.
6. He-no, Mo-ri-xo [Vietnamese phonetics] (1884-1940) was expelled from the Communist Party in 1923.
7. "The Congress of Tours," Social Publishing House, Paris, 1980, p 659, (French version).
8. "The Journal of History" of the Marxist Research Institute, No 3, (37), 4th quarter, 1980, p 8.

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CSO: 4209/421

## THE LENINIST STYLE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 82 pp 71-77

[Article by Tran Ngoc Thu]

[Text] In everything from selecting the goals of the revolution to determining and implementing tasks and the forms and methods of activities to achieve the goals that have been established, the party as well as each party organization, each cadre and each party member must possess a scientific style. The most scientific style of our times is the style based on the model activities of Lenin, the leader and father of the world revolution, and enhanced by the realities of the struggles of the various communist parties. This style is called the Leninist style.

Together with the outstanding theoretical contributions and practical activities of Lenin, his style was a priceless asset that he left behind for the communist movement and world revolution. This style helped him perform an immense amount of work that led to profound revolutionary upheavals, not only in Russia, but the entire world as well. This style helped him to perform the immense amount of work involved in creating theory and causing the ideological viewpoints set forth by him to be closely linked to the doctrine of Marx and become the compass for the entire world communist movement.

The Leninist style is formed and developed on the basis of uniting Marxist-Leninist theory with practice; on the basis of deeply understanding the laws of the development of society in coordination with the ability to creatively apply these laws with a view toward transforming society; and on the basis of smoothly coordinating revolutionary zeal and boundless loyalty with the cause of socialism and communism, with a scientific and practical mind.

The Leninist style is the crystallization of the extraordinary revolutionary energies of the working class and the consciousness and style of this class created by large-scale industry with the long-standing experiences of the communist party illuminated by the most scientific theory of our times, invincible Marxism-Leninism.

The Leninist style is the combined product of all the factors mentioned above and creates for the communist parties, for each party organization, cadre and member modern leadership ability, thereby insuring that the party, party organizations, cadres and members possess the qualities and the abilities needed to complete their tasks and overcome deviations that impede the implementation of lines and policies.

Our party, in every period of the revolution, has attached importance to establishing for itself and teaching to its cadres and members the Leninist style. "The Revolutionary Road," the great work written by Nguyen Ai Quoc during the period of agitation to establish the party (1925-1927), dealt with the issue of "the style of a revolutionary" on the very first page. He required that each cadre "be industrious and frugal; mingle with others and not be a private person; be determined to rectify one's mistakes; be careful but not timid; be inquisitive; be patient; conduct research and examine issues; be dedicated and unselfish; not be vain or arrogant; practice what he preaches; maintain his ideals; make sacrifices; have little desire for material wealth; and maintain secrets. Toward others, he must be forgiving toward everyone; be strict with regard to mass organizations; explain things to persons; be direct but not audacious; and scrutinize people. As regards his work, he must carefully examine circumstances; be decisive; be brave, and obey the mass organization." (1) These demands were, in essence, very strict demands regarding style. When the party became a party in political power, President Ho sent a "Letter to the Comrades of Bac Bo," directing their attention toward rectifying such deviations as ostentatiousness, red tape and so forth because they were deviations regarding style. In the book "Changing Work Methods," which was written by him in 1947, he comprehensively described the style of the revolutionary cadre and thoroughly denounced the mistakes and shortcomings that were occurring at that time.

Our party has undergone extraordinary growth with regard to its leadership style. Strictly speaking, however, we still face significant shortcomings in this area, such as being subjective and impetuous or being conservative and slow; bureaucracy, remoteness from reality, remoteness from the masses, a lack of sensitivity to life, etc. For this reason, the party has demanded that the entire party improve its leadership style; in particular, we must delve deeply into the economic front, improve our style of economic leadership and improve our ability to lead the economy as well as the returns from this leadership. The party demands that each cadre of the party, in addition to possessing knowledge of theory, politics, economics, science, technology and culture, must forge for himself the Leninist style and develop for himself the scientific method of thinking, a profound political outlook, the ability to quickly and precisely analyze the things occurring in life, the ability to organize and manage work and the ability to persuade and mobilize the masses. The party demands that the management agencies and cadres of the state improve their methods of operation and improve their work style so that management activities are militant, effective and practical in nature, guidance is thorough, principles and regulations are upheld, discipline is strict, etc. Thus, the matter raised by our party of developing the Leninist style is both a matter of basic, long-range importance as well as a matter of pressing,



immediate importance, the purpose of which is to improve the leadership role of the party and insure the successful performance of every revolutionary task.

The Leninist style encompasses such basic characteristics as party spirit and scientific nature; an organized, practical mind; closeness to the masses; the collective spirit, adhering to principles, the spirit of responsibility and so forth.

The unity between party spirit and a scientific nature, between revolutionary zeal and acting in accordance with laws is the basic, foremost characteristic of the Leninist style.

The Russian Revolution was an unparalleled model of the communist revolutionary spirit, of which Lenin and the Bolshevik Party were the soul, were the moving force behind the creation of this revolutionary zeal. In Lenin, revolutionary zeal was not only manifested in the spirit of working tirelessly for the revolution, but also in boldness in action, in an unyielding will in the face of difficulties, in the spirit of constantly attacking the enemy, in total determination in the struggle to protect the truth, in not being lenient in the face of opportunistic and traitorous viewpoints and so forth.

As regards the cadre, revolutionary zeal is the foremost requirement because, without it, he cannot perform any revolutionary job well, not to mention lead and organize the masses in revolutionary activities. This zeal is based on political steadfastness, on deep confidence in the ideals of socialism and the revolutionary cause of the party as manifested in tirelessly fighting for the victory of the political line and task of the party. This zeal does not permit cadres to hold a passive, wait and see attitude nor can they be doubtful and withdraw in the face of difficulties, rather, they must wage a steadfast struggle each hour of each day to perform practical work that helps the effort to overcome difficulties.

As revolutionary zeal becomes more necessary, so does the scientific spirit in revolutionary work. Only when zeal is established on the basis of science can this zeal be firm, be oriented in the correct direction and yield practical returns. Emphasizing zeal but giving light attention to science or substituting zeal for science frequently lead to painful results!

The scientific nature of the Leninist style is manifested in every decision being based on laws, on the specific historic conditions of objective reality. When implementing the "war time communist policy," when shifting to the "new economic policy" and so forth, all of these important decisions were not based by Lenin on his subjective desires, but on science. The basis of correct decisions is always the laws of the development of objective reality.

In order to take scientific action, the cadre cannot be subjective or haphazard, especially with regard to assessing and analyzing the situation. In many cases,

mistakes in decisions and policies regarding work originate in the failure to precisely and fully assess the situation and correctly analyze and evaluate the situation. The scientific method of thinking demands that the leader be abreast of reality, truly immerse himself in life, place himself within the revolutionary movement of the masses and discover and rapidly and precisely analyze the events occurring in life.

In recent years, besides the achievements that have been recorded in various fields, we have committed the mistakes of being subjective and impetuous and there have been incidents involving conservatism and slowness. Both impetuosity and conservatism are nothing more than two extreme manifestations of subjectiveness, of giving light attention to science, to objective laws.

In order to grasp laws and act in accordance with them, it is necessary to have a deep understanding of Marxist-Leninist theory and use Marxism-Leninism to improve one's ability to analyze society in a scientific manner, discover contradictions, grasp the essence of matters, project the prospects for development and avoid being subjective and one-sided when analyzing the situation and deciding policy. Not only is it necessary to firmly grasp Marxist-Leninist theory, but it is also necessary to have certain knowledge of many different fields of science, such as the science of economic management, social management, psychology, the natural sciences and so forth. During the period in which the party is leading the transformation of the old society and the building of the new society, the cadres of the party, especially leadership cadres and management cadres, must make an effort to acquire knowledge of many fields of science. The broader and deeper their knowledge of the sciences is, the better able they are to act in accordance with laws and the higher is the scientific nature of their actions.

A revolutionary nature combined with a scientific nature insures that leadership is creative and bold but still practical and realistic and corrects the attitudes of hesitancy, conservatism and slowness; on the other hand, reckless, impetuous actions are prevented.

An organized mind, a practical spirit and being realistic are also basic, indispensable characteristics of the Leninist style.

Lenin was especially concerned with the matter of organization and set a right example of an organized and practical mind. When the Russian Revolution entered the period of socialist construction, he affirmed: "...It is precisely for the purpose of carrying out our revolutionary tasks, precisely for the purpose of turning these tasks from illusions or naive dreams into true reality, for the purpose of immediately carrying out these tasks that we must immediately establish for ourselves the following task of immediate, foremost importance: performing organizational work with a realistic outlook and a practical mind."(2)

An organized mind is not an inherent attribute of every cadre of the party. At the same time, the task of building socialism demands that the party make the

organizational task its foremost task. Therefore, every cadre and party member, most importantly the leadership cadres and management cadres of the party, must forge for themselves an organized mind and improve their ability to organize and manage work so that they are able to insure the successful performance of the tasks of the socialist revolution.

An organized mind demands that the leadership cadre always plan in a practical and reasonable manner and balance the various factors in a process of activity, especially in the field of production; smoothly coordinate forces, means and elements in the process of organizing implementation, from the formulation of plans, the organization of the apparatus and the deployment of executive personnel to the inspection of implementation and so forth. An organized mind and a practical spirit demand that concern be shown for matters regarding management, specific policies and measures, discipline and responsibility, work productivity and final returns. An organized mind also demands that the leader always speak in a manner consistent with his actions, be bold and dynamic, be flexible and creative and be both resolute and steadfast for the purpose of achieving goals. Not being concerned with organization, providing leadership primarily on the basis of general appeals, not being concerned with specific policies and measures, being haphazard in the deployment of plans, labor, supplies and so forth are foreign to the Leninist style.

An organized mind is always closely associated with a practical mind. As the person who sets forth brilliant strategic plans, Lenin had a very practical and realistic mind. He always opposed jobs that were ostentatious, for form's sake only or impractical. "Let us speak fewer flowery words and perform more simple, day to day jobs; let us concern ourselves more with each pud of wheat and pud of coal."(3) "Let us utter less political jargon and concern ourselves more with the work of building communism, with the most mundane but vital jobs that are required by everyday life and tested in life."(4) "Every effort must be made to eliminate general reorganizations and we must adopt truly many measures, methods, modes and ideas that provide practical guidance."(5) These words were repeated by Lenin numerous times.

A practical, realistic mind demands that each cadre, while concerning himself with jobs of major importance, being farsighted and making predictions concerning the future, also fully concern himself with specific, practical, day to day jobs, with rapidly and thoroughly resolving problems that are faced while not being superficial, performing work in a slow, general manner or only stating guidelines without attaching importance to specific plans and measures for implementation.

A practical, realistic mind demands that the cadre always concern himself with the quality and efficiency of his work, give his attention to the benefits of every job and avoid formalism, avoid the seeking of achievements and avoid spending much time and money but not achieving commensurate returns.

A practical, realistic mind also demands that the cadre always gain experience from his work, quickly respond to every change in life and be sensitive to the new. When the situation changes or reality proves that the work performed by a

cadre was incorrect, he must rapidly change and not be conservative or obstinately cling to outmoded policies.

The practical mind and the realistic spirit in the Leninist style are totally foreign to pragmatism, commercialism and the mentality of the merchant. They are also totally foreign to conservatism, slowness and the thinking of being satisfied with oneself. The practical mind and the realistic spirit are always closely linked to high revolutionary zeal, to a scientific spirit in actions, to adherence to principle and concern for basic, long-range objectives and interests and so forth; this insures that the realistic mind does not degenerate into opportunism, superficiality or that which is commonplace.

Always maintaining close contact with the basic level, always being close to reality, being close to the masses and guaranteeing and upholding the right of collective ownership of the masses are salient characteristics of the Leninist style.

As the leader of the Soviet party and state, Lenin always set an example of being close to the lower echelons and the basic level, of keeping abreast of work, of performing specific jobs in a manner consistent with reality. He waged a determined struggle against bureaucracy, which is the calamity deserving of fear when the party is in political power. He confirmed that a cadre falling victim to bureaucracy is the same thing as "hanging himself." He demanded that each cadre must, at any price, "totally sever himself from confusion and chaos, from pure desk work and from being completely absorbed in discussing and drafting public documents." (6) "You must concentrate on inspecting implementation," "must allocate 1 or 2 hours each day to personally inspecting work"--these were Lenin's directives to the vice chairmen of the people's councils because, according to Lenin, the main task of these comrades was to "inspect implementation and determine what is occurring in reality." (7)

Lenin always set an example of being close to cadres and the people, of being among and close to the masses. He stated that if they separated themselves from the people, the party would lose its strength and the dictatorship of the proletariat state would lose its foundation and be unable to bring victory to socialism. Therefore, Lenin demanded that each cadre "be deeply immersed in the life of the worker, be thoroughly familiar with the life of the worker and know how to accurately determine, in the face of any issue and at any time, the thinking of the masses, their true aspirations, their needs and thinking." (8)

As a party in political power, the party must be very close to the people, must educate and mobilize the people to follow the line of the party and achieve the goals of independence, freedom and socialism. When in political power, it is even more necessary for the party to intensify its agitation of the masses and improve the forms and methods of its mass agitation to be consistent with the new requirements. The cadres and members of the party, regardless of the field of work in which they are active, must concern themselves with mass agitation, with gaining the participation of the masses in revolutionary movements in order

to achieve specific goals that are closely linked to the implementation of economic, cultural and social plans and the maintenance of political security and social order and safety.

In order to fulfill the role of leader and organizer of the masses, the cadre must have the trust of the masses, must build firm confidence on the part of the masses in the leadership agency. Concerning this matter, no authority or order has any real effect. According to Lenin, we can only "win the unshakeable confidence of the masses by displaying a comradely attitude toward them, by concerning ourselves with their needs." (9) Thus, deeply understanding the private thoughts and aspirations of the people, sympathizing with their difficulties and, on this basis, struggling with all one's energy to achieve specific, practical results and help to overcome the difficulties and shortages of the people are a pressing matter with which the party demands that each cadre and member be concerned. Conversely, being complacent and passive in the face of the difficulties of the people, placing oneself above the people, violating the people's right of collective ownership, abusing one's authority and position by being arrogant and causing problems to the people will reduce the people's confidence in the party and undermine the people's confidence in leadership agencies and themselves.

In addition to the matters mentioned above, the Leninist style also has another very important characteristic, namely, a very high collective spirit, adherence to principle and spirit of responsibility.

In his life of revolutionary activities, Lenin always set a bright example of the collective spirit. Although he was the highest leader of the Soviet party and state, Lenin never arbitrarily decided matters that had to be discussed and resolved by the collective. When he was in the minority, Lenin always absolutely obeyed the resolution that was adopted. However, when the matter in question was important, Lenin continued to act within the framework of the principles of the Soviet party and state while continuing to defend his ideas by raising the matter on a higher level, sometimes at a party congress. The collective spirit was always a characteristic of Lenin's style. He very deeply detested dictatorship, arbitrariness and factionalism. He required that the collective spirit be thorough and that it be displayed from the basic organizations of the party upward.

In conjunction with the collective spirit, it is necessary to display a high spirit of personal responsibility. The Leninist style demands that the cadre, while performing his work, possess energy, reach decisions quickly, dare to act, know how to work and dare to assume responsibility. A lack of responsibility toward one's work, going behind the back of the collective, relying upon the collective, being timid and hesitant and not daring to make a decision when necessary are the opposite of the Leninist style.

In addition to the collective spirit and the spirit of responsibility, Lenin also gave very much attention to adherence to principle. Lenin's adherence to principle was the result and the manifestation of his boundless loyalty to the revolutionary cause. He considered adherence to principle to be a very high

requirement reflecting the qualities of the cadre. He rejected all compromise concerning matters of principle. However, to Lenin, principles were not rigid or mechanical, rather, they were flexible in nature--flexibility based on principle.

The main characteristics mentioned above of the Leninist style combined to form an organic entity. To each cadre and party member, forging for himself the Leninist style is an inevitable prerequisite to successfully completing the revolutionary tasks assigned by the party and the people.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See: Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap," [Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume I, p 231.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, Volume 36, p 195.
3. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1979, Volume 39, p 26.
4. Ibid., p 15.
5. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, Volume 40, p 164.
6. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," 1978, Volume 44, p 444.
7. Ibid., p 445.
8. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, Volume 33, p 281.
9. Ibid.

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## OPPOSE THE ENEMY'S PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE AT THE SINO-VIETNAMESE BORDER

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 82 pp 78-81, 88

[Article by Nong Quoc Chan]

[Text] Our country's northern border is now one of the many areas where the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists are stepping up their psychological warfare maneuvers to attack and sabotage us in various domains. A tough and complex struggle is taking place under various forms between us and the enemy on the ideological front.

The enemy's propaganda is characterized by chauvinism and a desire to achieve global supremacy, misrepresent the socialist revolution with the intention of opposing and sabotaging the socialist undertaking in our country, and to misrepresent the Communist Party for the purpose of undermining it.

The Chinese reactionaries' tricks are very cunning and diverse. They are primarily aimed at sowing dissension between various ethnic minority groups, between troops and the people and between our party and administration and the masses. The Chinese reactionaries are creating misgivings and confusion among people who are uninformed about news of current events; prompting suspicions, a tendency to look down at other people, and hatred between various ethnic minority groups; cajoling and buying some people's support by giving them certain commodities; and exploiting the customs and traditions as well as the family relations of various ethnic minority groups along the border in order to distort the truth, make the people unable to distinguish friends from foes and to aggravate negative phenomena facing our people's lives.

With a huge propaganda apparatus including a radio broadcasting network from the central to the local levels and many public address systems along the border, and with the use of leaflets written in Chinese and Vietnamese, the reactionaries in the Beijing leadership are constantly cajoling and persuading the H'mong and Yao ethnic peoples to "repatriate" to live with "King Hua" and "King Deng," and calling on them "to annihilate the Vietnamese lowlanders and the Tay ethnic people for the salvation of the Nung ethnic minority group."

Led by the Communist Party of Vietnam, the Vietnam People's Army is a genuine revolutionary army comprising many outstanding sons of the working people and the people of various nationalities in Vietnam. "Uncle Ho's troops" are men under arms who have an ideal and who are intelligent. The army and the people

of various nationalities are like fish and water. The relations between the army and the people of various nationalities are between compatriots and comrades who are united into a solid bloc and who are joining each other in the struggle for the defense of the country and the socialist fatherland. The enemy resorted to numerous tricks to create suspicions and hatred between the army and the people of various nationalities. Exploiting the shortcomings of certain individuals in one area or another, the enemy has sought every way possible to sow dissension between our army and people. They have spoken ill of our soldiers and distorted the truth, trying to create a tendency to alienate our soldiers. With regard to our soldiers, the enemy has usually directed their attacks on our soldiers' feelings, especially during public and lunar new year holidays. They have tried to undermine our soldiers' determination to defend the fatherland by posing hypocritical questions such as "Are you going to be allowed to go home for a family reunion?"; "Vietnam has been unified but many men continue to be driven apart from their parents, wives and children. Why?"; "Going to the frontline or to border defense outposts just to become a canon fodder," and so forth.

In addition to their attempts to sow dissension between various ethnic minority groups and between the army and people by using various tricks, they are trying to create a permanent state of tension by conducting destructive artillery barrages and plundering and land-grabbing operations in order to destabilize the lives of the people in various hamlets or to harass various border markets. They have spread rumors about Chinese troops going to launch large-scale attacks on one point or another. Without timely information and due to a lack of newspapers and radios to keep track of current events, a number of our compatriots have been deceived and have fallen into the enemy's trap. Due to their lack of knowledge, a number of people are unable to tell which news reports are true and which news reports are false. This may confuse them and lead them to unwittingly feed the enemy's propaganda to other people. Being frightened and confused is only one step away from being fooled, cajoled and bought, especially for those living in remote border areas.

The enemy has often resorted to many cunning tricks aimed at driving a number of our compatriots into their traps. For example, they have sent their scouts into our country to drive our buffaloes and cattle to China and then spread the word that their owners should go to China to claim them back! Such a trap has, at times, proved effective. This is because those who cross the border to claim their buffaloes and cattle have in addition been forced to accept and carry back with them bunches of propaganda leaflets, they have also compelled these people to "pledge" to do something for them. Exploiting difficulties in our people's lives, the enemy has used commodities as a means to buy or cajole those who are gullible, naive and greedy for the enemy's money or goods. In this way the enemy has succeeded in cajoling certain persons to return to destroy the anise forests--by collecting the bark of anise trees and digging for their roots for sale to "friendly China"--and to remove buffaloes' eyes and hooves and trade them for some spools of colored thread, certain flashlight batteries, lighters, blankets, thermos bottles and the like.

The enemy has repeatedly used their henchmen--Vietnamese traitors of those miscreants among the long-time Chinese residents in various Vietnamese border provinces--to carry out clandestine propaganda and sabotage activities.



Through the voice of traitor Hoang Van Hoan, the expansionists have repeatedly recalled the long-standing relations between the peoples of the two countries in the border area and between the peoples of the two nations, including the relations in the revolutionary struggle and in social life as part of their efforts to cover up the many crimes they have committed so far.

The ideological and cultural struggle at various provinces along the Sino-Vietnamese border is going on continuously and is very complex. This struggle reflects the spirit of independence and freedom of the Vietnamese people of various nationalities in opposition to Chinese expansionists and hegemonists who are now working hand in glove with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary forces. It also reflects socialism's opposition to Maoism and Vietnam's culture as opposed to Chinese expansionism and hegemonism.

The culture of a nation always reflects the characteristics of that nation. The confidence, the *raison d'être* and the sense of responsibility of each nationality in the great Vietnamese family of various nationalities in the cause of building and protecting socialism are the vivid manifestations of the culture of the people of various nationalities in our country's northern border area. Even if its population is small and its living standards are not high enough, every nation can still feel proud of its traditional culture. The folk songs of various ethnic minority groups such as the "sli" folk songs of the Nung's, the "luom" folk songs of the Tay's, the "pao rung" folk songs of the Yao's, the "quam khap" folk songs of the Thais and the "gau p'lenh" folk songs of the H'mong's and our many kind of traditional musical instruments including flutes, xylophones, pan-flutes, and drums have made up Vietnam's rich, diversified and colorful culture. The light of the revolutionary culture has brought new factors for our cultural heritage. These include scientific knowledge, new forms of optimistic revolutionary militancy, new actors, new authors and new art troops. The culture of the people of various nationalities in our country's northern border area is continuously contributing to the struggle against foreign aggression for the construction and defense of the socialist fatherland.

In order to defend our fatherland's border, we must have an army, a battlefield and crisscrossing combat trenches. We must also have another very important factor: the people's support. The people of various nationalities have long settled down here in various hamlets and have organized many border markets. Also living together with them are workers and youths who have come here from various midland and lowland provinces to build forestry sites and state farms. The strength of all of these people is the combined strength of the socialist patriotic spirit, the spirit of national unity and the spirit of socialist collective mastery over political, economic, cultural and social activities.

In order to nurture the strength of those who are defending the fatherland's border, we need rice, corn, potatoes, manioc, salt, clothing and prophylactic medicines. It is also necessary for us to improve these people's knowledge and morale, to supply them with paper, pens and books and to create conditions for them to listen to news broadcasts, watch movie films and art performances, read books and newspapers and observe a sanitary and nonsuperstitious living pattern. New cultural activities now serve as a ideological weapon in the

daily struggle against the enemy's psychological warfare. They also reflect objectives in the struggle to be attained by the people of various nationalities and by members of the People's Armed Forces.

Faced with difficulties in the economy and everyday life, we must satisfactorily organize cultural and information activities in various mountainous and border areas. Experiences obtained in many areas show that if we develop the masses' self-motivation spirit and creativity and seek ways to overcome difficulties, we will be able to organize our cultural and information activities and quickly develop their positive effect in our daily struggle against the enemy's sabotage activities. Many localities have quickly organized mobile information teams in order to spread the words of the party and the state to our combatants and compatriots of various nationalities, to keep the people informed of the situation and to promote their revolutionary activities. Many districts have arranged to send books and newspapers to various border defense posts or to the compatriots living in mountainous areas. In leadership activities, responsible organs have given priority to border areas in providing them with competent cadres and good materials and cultural works, thus contributing to improving the spiritual life of the soldiers and the people of various nationalities.

Our present tasks are to note correctly and to meet quickly the urgent requirements of "frontline areas." Implementing these tasks amounts to implementing party and state policies toward ethnic minority people. We must actively bring the light of a new culture to the compatriots of various ethnic minority groups, eradicate the differences in cultural life between minority and majority groups and between the mountainous and lowland areas, and quickly improve the material and cultural life of the compatriots of various nationalities in mountainous and border areas.

Faced with the enemy's multisided and protracted sabotage activities, it is necessary to adopt appropriate operational methods and measures to carry out the cultural and information task in the border areas. Due to the situation and the special features of the border areas, and also due to the fact that the economic situation is still fraught with difficulties, cultural and information activities there should not be patterned after those in other areas, these activities would be effective if their contents are made understandable and suitable in addition to efforts to streamline organization both in terms of personnel and equipment. Cultural and information organizations at the border areas do not necessarily require many "sections and facilities" as is the case with other areas. Instead, they must operate on a mobile basis and in such a way as to serve practically the compatriots and combatants, especially in those areas which are directly facing the enemy's constant sabotage activities. It is necessary constantly to carry out such activities as spreading information and propaganda, organizing mass literary and art performances and slide and film shows, building a new way of life, carrying out militarization, holding small exhibitions, distributing books, newspapers, posters and pictures, and promoting radio listening. These activities must be selected on the basis of both form and content if they are to be comprehensible, wholesome and attractive.

The classification of propaganda targets and the zoning off of areas to facilitate information and cultural activities are an important way of ensuring the success of these activities. The promotion of cultural and information activities for the masses and the dissemination of cultural information among the masses will only be successful if they are tailored to suit the targets. As a result of differences in dialects, psychologies customs and more, and education levels, the zoning of areas to enable proper operating procedures is a good experience. There are areas in which small-scale operations should be conducted; while in other areas they can be conducted in a relatively concentrated manner and on a medium-scale. Operations similar to those conducted in the midland provinces can be carried out in some areas.

Markets in the border areas and highlands are places not only for trade in goods but also for meetings of people of various nationalities to inquire about one another's health and to conduct cultural activities. It is therefore necessary to organize propaganda in order to explain the policies and lines of our party and state and smash up the enemy's reactionary allegations. This will certainly bring about good results. On market days, the cultural teams should conduct several types of operations, such as informing the people of current news, organizing exhibitions, showing slides and films, singing and organizing healthy entertainment activities in order to meet the people's cultural needs, expound the lines and policies of the party and state and promptly disseminate current news, nullifying the effects of enemy psychological warfare.

The cultural and information activities in the border areas will be highly effective when close coordination between the culture and information sector and other sectors--especially army units--can be maintained. The fine results achieved in Quan Ninh, Cao Bang, Lang Son, He Tuyen, Hoang Lien Son and Lai Chau have attested to the effect of this coordination. Good models have emerged from among the real activities which have been conducted. The information unit composed of old people in Ba Che District, Quang Ninh Province has operated effectively in the area of ethnic Dao people. The information unit of Lao Cai Town has used the market meeting time to conduct good cultural and information activities. The Dong Van District information unit in Ha Tuyen Province has coordinated with armed propaganda units to conduct timely operations!

The cultural and information activities in the border areas should be considered one of the vital tasks to be given even more attention by the party, administration and mass organizations at all echelons.

The ideological and cultural struggle in the Sino-Vietnamese border areas will continue under several complicated forms for a long time. Our cultural, information and artistic activities should be strengthened to meet the requirements of our struggle against the enemy's psychological warfare and for the moral wellbeing of the people of all nationalities, cadres and combatants of the People's Armed Forces in northern border area.

## THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION'S MILITARY STRATEGY OR THE U.S. STRATEGIC STALEMATE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 82 pp 82-88

[Article by Thanh Tin; passages enclosed in slantlines published in italics]

[Text] The Reagan administration has been in power for more than a year. As time indifferently passes, the United States is beset and challenged by many difficult problems and is in a serious deadlock in several fields with its way out uncertain and ineffective. In the strategic military field, the Reagan administration's stalemate is all the more outstanding.

### The Main Elements of the Reagan Administration's Military Strategy

What is the present military strategy of the Reagan administration? What will be the U.S. military strategy in the 1980's? These are questions which many military organs, strategists and news commentators around the world are studying.

Strategic analysts say that from 1975 to 1979, the U.S. military strategy was in a state of near paralysis and drift, adding that with about a million U.S. officers and men coming back from the Vietnamese battlefields physically and morally wounded, many antagonistic tendencies and views beset the U.S. military system. U.S. strategists were engaged openly in prolonged disputes without resolution. Some advocated a strategy of */"isolationism,"/* maintaining that the United States should return to the American Continent and should never send U.S. combat troops to another continent and thus avoid heavy defeats. Others advocated that the United States should turn back only to a certain degree by building a defense line starting from its pacific islands, and, on this basis, should formulate a */"military strategic according to the pacific islands' line."/* Still, some other strategists proposed a */"vital and outlying zones"/* doctrine, holding that henceforth the United States should only intervene militarily in strategically important regions where it has direct, strategic interests, and that it should not be directly concerned with distant, outlying and unimportant places, taking into account the fact that the Vietnam war has revealed U.S. limitations in all respects.

Because the "Vietnam syndrome" on the U.S. body is still very new but serious and because the United States is still shaky following its downfall in Vietnam, the U.S. ruling circles and the militarist circles in the time of Gerald Ford

and Jimmy Carter appeared to be reluctant and afraid to engage in military adventures. This attitude became quite obvious when a number of African countries rose up and consolidated their independence with the devoted assistance of Cuban Army units filled with a noble internationalist spirit; when the Iranian people overthrew the tyrant Pahlavi--Washington's lackey--and when the seething Nicaraguan revolution dealt a decisive blow to the U.S.-fed and commanded Somoza administration. The United States has suffered such heavy strategic setbacks in the "post-Vietnam" period at a time when it was drowning in a myriad of crises--an economic crisis, a financial crisis, a credibility crisis, an institutional crisis and particularly military strategy crisis.

Ronald Reagan appeared in the U.S. presidential election campaign early in 1980 with the outline of a new military strategy. After he was elected, this military strategy was perfected. The main elements of this military strategy can be described as follows:

--The United States still has to play the role of a top power strategically in accordance with a /global strategy/. The United States has global interests, global responsibilities and global military capability.

--The United States must muster its forces to a high degree and increase its military might rapidly and vigorously in order to regain the /military superiority/ it lost as a result of the Soviet Union's beefing up of its military strength in the 1970's.

--The United States will simultaneously build a strong strategic nuclear force for /"deterrent"/ purposes and develop sufficiently strong conventional and rapid deployment forces to /"contain"/ its adversaries. Both deterrence and containment are important.

--The United States must be willing and ready to /take military action in all places and at all times/ if deemed necessary. Even where joint or collective action--which the United States tries to achieve--cannot be agreed upon with its allies, the United States must have the boldness to act unilaterally.

--The United States will put aside detente and relegate it to a level of lesser importance; and will emphasize its stand of /confrontation/ against the Soviet Union, Cuba and Vietnam in accordance with the strategic design to confront and repel the three revolutionary currents of the world in today's era.

--The United States must be prepared fully for /"two wars"/ instead of for "a war and a half" as advocated formerly. These two wars consist of a war on the European battlefield against the military forces of the Warsaw Pact signatory countries and another one in the Middle East or South Africa, in West Asia, northeast Asia or Central America against the national liberation movement under the banner of "protecting the interests of the free world," "protecting the transportation of fuel and raw materials through international lines of communications," and so forth. Formerly, counterinsurgency was only considered by U.S. strategists as half a war; but today, Reagan treats it as /one/ full war to stress the United States' readiness to use large forces for intervention and aggression when nations may rise up in their struggle for liberation.

Reagan's military strategy, with the aforementioned elements, has yet to be given any specific name. Some people hold that Reagan has returned to the "flexible response strategy" of the Kennedy-Taylor administration; but in reality, Reagan's military strategy has new elements that are so blindly aggressive and reckless as to be preposterous. Another school of thought refers to Reagan's military strategy as the "deterrence and containment strategy" or the "strategy of two wars"; but this concept fails to reflect the true nature of Washington's present military strategy.

#### The Shadow of Defeat in Vietnam Weighs Heavily on U.S. Military Strategy

Although Reagan and the Pentagon try to make it appear that they have completely forgotten the military nightmare in Vietnam and although they loudly declare that the "Vietnam syndrome" has disappeared totally from U.S. society and that the United States has definitely entered the period that follows the "post-Vietnam" period, the historic defeat of the United States in Vietnam over 7 years ago still weighs heavily on U.S. military strategy.

Nearly all U.S. and Western studies of strategy have mentioned the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam like a most plaintive refrain. They have to remark that "the Vietnam war has upset U.S. military strategy," that "this war has caused the definitive loss of U.S. military superiority," and that with its Vietnam debacle, the United States has entered a new era: that of the limitation of military force. In his book "The Real War" U.S. superhawk Richard Nixon admits that it was "the Vietnam syndrome" that prompted U.S. political circles to give up many important bases in Africa in the wake of the Vietnam defeat. According to him, as a result of this syndrome, Washington passively and meekly had to allow tens of thousands of Cuban troops to operate on this resource-rich continent, without daring to offer even a token resistance. He also acknowledges that in Vietnam, Washington was forced to flee in total defeat, letting Nguyen Van Thieu fend for himself, and that this precedent later led to the U.S. abandonment of Pahlavi and Somoza to their tragic fate in Iran and Nicaragua....

Early this year, when the El Salvador issue became U.S. President Reagan's severest headache and when Washington was faced with a dreadful and urgent choice between intervening or not intervening to save the Duarte puppet army and administration from their desperate situation, the Vietnam lesson once again became the subject of U.S. press commentaries and congressional discussions. No less than 7 years have elapsed, but the total defeat suffered by the United States in Vietnam still retains the freshness and reality of a burning current event in deterring the warmongering hot heads in Washington.

#### Factors of the Inevitable Failure of Reagan's Military Strategy

Over the past nearly 40 years the U.S. ruling circles have changed their military strategy many times in the hope of achieving the objectives of their counterrevolutionary global strategy.

We can see that each of these changes has marked a strategic setback, as the world balance of forces constantly shifted to the disadvantage of Washington and as the United States repeatedly suffered serious military defeats.

The /"massive retaliation"/ strategy of the fifties was laid down on the basis of the U.S. nuclear weapons monopoly and the undisputable superiority of the conventional arms used by the U.S. Navy, Air Force and Army.

The /"flexible response"/ strategy of the sixties represented a clear setback, when the United States had lost its nuclear weapons monopoly and had to cope with national liberation movements on all continents.

The /"realistic deterrence"/ mapped out toward the end of the sixties was another striking setback when the United States was forced to admit that its strength and its money had their limits, that a realistic and suitable approach was needed for each specific situation, and that it could not react impulsively everywhere according to its subjective calculations.

The military strategy that followed based on the /"Nixon doctrine"/ was yet another step backward that the United States had to take when it was forced to recognize the painful fact that its armed forces had suffered a serious defeat on the Vietnam battlefield and could no longer serve as an effective instrument to resolve military problems around the world in Washington's favor. Therefore, the United States had to /"change the color of the corpses' skin"/ according to the formula: U.S. weapons and advisers plus indigenous troops and administration. This was also an admission that the American people were unwilling to let their sons be thrown into a meaningless quagmire, and that the U.S. Armed Forces themselves were no longer enthusiastic about rushing to a foreign battlefield to fight a war the meaning and aim of which they could not clearly understand.

According to the dialectic of matters, Reagan's military strategy--U.S. military strategy in the "post-Vietnam" period--should have been a step backward to adjust to the new balance of forces, the position and strength of the United States in the new period, and to a situation in which the United States is sinking deeper in a general crisis. Looking at Reagan's military strategy, one can see all its preposterousness. For this reason, Reagan's military strategy bears intrinsic factors of failure. It is easy to recognize the law that spells out the inevitable bankruptcy of current U.S. military strategy. This is because of the following:

First, Reagan's military strategy bears /an aggressive, reckless and mindless character that is incongruous with the actual position and strength of the imperialist United States/ in the "post-Vietnam" period. Having been weakened economically and financially, divided politically and socially, and stripped of its superiority in both military strategic forces and conventional weapons, how could the United States possibly maintain its global ambitions and readily plunge into new adventures with good results?

/Second, the three revolutionary current/, despite all difficulties and obstacles, have continued to develop their strategic offensive position and push world development ahead /along the line/ of transition from capitalism to socialism. The political, economic and military might of the socialist countries has been bolstered constantly. Over the past several years socialism has attracted into its orbit hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America; the movement to free nations from the rule of old and new

colonialism has been expanding and rising high; the struggle of the working class has been developing vigorously on all the continents; the movement to struggle against the arms race, the production of neutron bombs and the deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe for the defense of world peace has set new records.... The aim of the Reagan administration to contain and repel the three revolutionary current is merely an illusion; and it will certainly lead to new, heavy defeats.

/Third, time/ is not on the side of U.S. military strategy. U.S. strategists contend that, by exerting tremendous efforts in the arms race, the United States can catch up with the Soviet Union in military strength in 1987 and then use this momentum to gain superiority. Thus, again, is only a subjective illusion of the United States. The prompt answer from the Soviet Union is: It will never allow the United States to regain its military superiority in order to manipulate the world situation.

/Fourth/, the frantic arms race will surely bring /the most intense social contradictions/ to the United States. Reagan has stepped up the arms race and increased military expenditures, bringing the military budget from \$164 billion in 1981 to \$199 billion in 1982 and \$263 billion in 1983. Drastic cuts in expenditures for social security, public health, education and so forth will only help enrich arms-producing capitalist cliques, bring disaster to laboring people's families and worsen inflation and unemployment. Reagan's unprecedented arms race will certainly lead to new failures in the economic and financial fields, prolong the recession and heighten the already deep dissatisfaction of the laboring people, the middle class and even the capitalist companies producing consumer goods. American society is witnessing ever stronger and fiercer class struggles that are directed against the Reagan administration's warlike and adventurous policies. The Reagan administration's stark isolation from the American people is inevitable. In the "post-Vietnam" period, broad sections of the American public have protested against the U.S. administration's military adventures in spite of the U.S. psychological warfare machinery's efforts to fan their spirit of big-nation chauvinism. And even U.S. political circles are increasingly becoming deeply divided because of Reagan's preposterously adventurous and reckless policies.

/Fifth, the United States is unable to motivate its allies/ to act in accordance with its military strategy: Long gone is the day when the United States was the authoritative leader and commander of the imperialist and capitalist countries. While the United States leaves detente aside, many U.S. allies consider it their primary policy; while the United States advocates confrontation with the Soviet Union, its European allies want to expand trade with the latter on a large scale. The United States has shamelessly and desperately sabotaged the "contracts of the century"--under which 10 West European countries will purchase some 40 billion cubic meters of natural gas from the Soviet Union every year--but the West European countries refuse to submit to the U.S. command baton. While the United States has attempted to intervene in El Salvador, many key U.S. allies consider the Farabundo Marti Front as the legitimate representative of the people of this country. They have even advised or warned the United States against sending U.S. combat troops to



El Salvador. Many U.S. Allies have refused to increase their military budgets as requested by the United States. The trend against the deployment of U.S. missiles in Western Europe is rising vigorously among the European people and has an effect on the politics of these countries. In many places many mass organizations have even demanded the withdrawal of the nearly 400,000 U.S. troops from Europe and said bluntly that "the U.S. presence is no longer necessary in Europe."

/Sixth, the Chinese expansionist and hegemonist clique/ plays a fairly remarkable role in the Reagan administration's military strategy. From being the objective of a big U.S. war, China has become a force that is colluding with the United States against the Soviet Union and the three revolutionary currents. By all appearances, such a "switch" of battleground by a country with more than a billion people is really outstanding. However, an analysis of its posture and strength shows that the Beijing expansionist and hegemonist clique's despicable betrayal has brought no obvious advantages to U.S. military strategy. This is because China, though vast and densely populated, is still very weak economically. The Chinese Army is large but its equipment is backward by one or two generations of weapons as compared to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This army is beset by permanent internal political chaos. Chinese politics is in a state of protracted confusion. Under these conditions, China, far from being a major military force to complement U.S. military strategy, is a big, dead-weight political and military burden on it. The U.S. public is questioned: Where does the United States get \$42-67 billion to modernize the Chinese Army so that it will become a remarkable objective for the powerful Soviet military might in U.S. military strategy? Where does the United States get at least \$180 billion to invest in the modernization of the Chinese economy in the next 10 years? Ten years ago, Nixon opened Beijing's door and gave a toast to Sino-U.S. friendship. The toast then was as delicious and sweet as it is bitter now.

#### The Stalemate of U.S. Military Strategy

Regan is really a man of the remote past. A review of his strategy shows that its author still persists in maintaining the very old way of thinking from the period when the United States still had a powerful posture and strength--the immediate post-World War II period. Since then, there have been many changes in the world! Today, the United States is sick, weak and old and has lost its vitality, attractiveness and power.

In formulating his military strategy, Reagan totally disregarded the present world balance of power, the marked decline of U.S. stature and strength in the post-Vietnam period and the unending U.S. economic recession. Nor did he take into account the opposite tendencies which are threatened to tear U.S. society apart. In this society, solitary cries of bellicosity and adventurism are rising amid public weariness and annoyance....

All of the U.S. military strategies for nearly 40 years have had a common fatal flaw: their lack of realism, which has made them ineffective and short-lived. Reagan's military strategy is more remarkable than all the preceeding ones in that it is the most irrational. The Chinese people are fond of lamenting that

their spirit is willing but their strength is insufficient. This lament is an apt description of Reagan and his military strategy. The United States is aging and visibly losing strength. It can in no way cling to its dream of global presence and readily plunge into adventures in any place and at any time. There is no miracle which can rejuvenate it and make it stronger than the rest of the world, which is brimming with youthful vitality.

U.S. public opinion has warned the Reagan administration that it is facing too many international crises simultaneously; one in Central America, with El Salvador as its focus; one in the Middle East; and one in southern Africa. Coupled with these are the crackdown on and jailing of U.S. henchmen in Poland, the anti-U.S. tendency in Western Europe, the anti-U.S. movement in Libya and North Africa....

The strategic stalemate of the United States in the eighties stems from the fact that its aims are too high and its ambitions too great, while its position and strength have visibly declined and the revolutionary forces of our time are surging vigorously according to the trend of the era and the law of inevitable development of human society.

The Reagan administration's nonsensical, truculent and belligerent attitude is leading the United States to new strategic blunders and setbacks. It is also driving the country into an unprecedentedly isolated position in the West. As the French newspaper LE MONDE observed, "The United States is shooting at its own feet" and "has been the first to suffer from the mistakes of U.S. political circles."

The U.S. military strategy bears the indelible stamp of its creator, Ronald Reagan, a man notorious for his anachronistic, conservative, bellicose, nonsensical, shortsighted and vulgar views. It also bears the stamp of the current U.S. political stand, which bourgeois European political commentators have criticized as being unrealistic, shortsighted, unimaginative and prone to reacting according to crude instinct.

Each period has its own peculiar products. The moribund military strategy of the Reagan administration and of the United States in the 1980's is quite suitable for an imperialist America which is rapidly declining and in the grips of a general crisis.

The three revolutionary currents of our time have successively bankrupted several U.S. military strategies. Reagan's military strategy will certainly know no better fate. This strategy--which is caught in an impasse resulting from the conflict between the United States' ambitions and its capabilities, between its objectives and its measures, and between Reagan's subjective intentions and the world's objective trend--will only lead the country to new defeats. We can safely predict that the only thing that will make the current U.S. military strategy /"more remarkable"/ than its predecessors is that it will go bankrupt /more quickly/ and in a /"more spectacular"/ fashion.